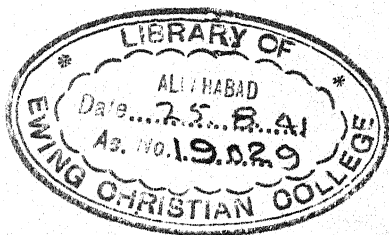


**THE CHRISTIAN ALTERNATIVE  
TO WORLD CHAOS**

# The Christian Alternative to World Chaos

by

LUMAN J. SHAFER



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*To my wife and children—  
my best critics*

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## PREFACE

THE outbreak of another war in Europe has given tragic emphasis to the questions raised in this book. The peoples of the world passionately desire peace. The intimately interwoven fabric of modern civilized life across the world demands peace. And yet, as though by an inexorable fate, nations bend all their energies to prepare for war and ultimately whole peoples become locked in a titanic struggle. This takes place in the face of greatly increased efforts for peace. In fact, it would almost seem that the rate of war preparation is in direct ratio to the increase in sentiment for peace. How is this to be understood? Is there no way out? Is humanity condemned forever to this form of insanity? Or have we a right to hope for a more kindly day? We console ourselves by saying that Christianity has not failed but that we have failed. This is, of course, true but the fact remains that Christian teachings through two thousand years have failed to eliminate war and supplant chaos with order on a world scale. As

Christians we cannot escape this fact and we cannot avoid the problem which it presents, viz., is there a Christian alternative to this world chaos with its ever recurring wars?

The problem is at once one of new ideas and of new political organization. Ideas without organization are disembodied spirits and of little use in a practical world. On the other hand, organizations with false ideas behind them or without the backing of adequate ideas are either destructive of human values or ineffective. The Christian task is therefore threefold. It is to examine existing ideas in the light of our Christian faith; to help create new ideas in order to bring about a changed moral climate across the world; and also to seek to discover what changes are demanded in political organizations in order to give effect to the Christian world view. It is from this viewpoint that I have discussed the questions raised in this book. I have attempted an analysis of the problem and have discussed the reasons for the apparent failure of most of our peace efforts. I have offered suggestions for a solution which I hope may stimulate the thinking and planning of others for it is not too much to say that the fate of civilization itself hangs on some solution of the problem which is here discussed.

I am greatly indebted to the friends named below who have been good enough to read this book, either in manuscript or in galley proof, and whose criticisms and suggestions have been most helpful: Roswell P. Barnes, Mrs. Sanford E. Cobb, Franklin D. Cogswell, William Bancroft Hill, Leslie B. Moss, F. M. Potter, Esther B. Strong and A. L. Warnshuis.

LUMAN J. SHAFER.

*Summit, New Jersey,  
November 21, 1939.*

THE CHRISTIAN ALTERNATIVE  
TO WORLD CHAOS

## I

### WHY NOT PEACE?

ONCE more men are marching. The last war was a war to end war but war is again upon us. Have the last twenty-five years taught us nothing? During these years the world has progressively become a physical neighborhood but it is today, even more than twenty-five years ago, a spiritual enemyhood. The world is a physical neighborhood but a spiritual enemyhood; it is a world where the same scientific genius that conquers time and distance also rapidly develops more and more deadly ways of killing these neighbors whom it has brought together. To add to these truly incredible contradictions, at the same time that these developments have taken place there has been a steady and rapid growth in peace sentiment and in organized efforts for peace. People as individuals in the various nations of the world have progressively come to realize as never before the horror and the comparative uselessness of war. They crave peace and organize strenuously for it, but these same people as nations proceed relentlessly



and with the utmost of scientific thoroughness to arm for war. This situation presents a major problem of modern times—a problem which must be solved and solved quickly.

It is not too much to say that upon the solution of the problem of war and peace the whole of modern civilization depends. It is apparent to everyone that complicated organized life across the world cannot survive these continued wars. But what is not generally realised is that an understanding of this fact, no matter how universal, will do little to avert the catastrophe unless fearless attempts are made, in the light of all available data, to analyze this problem and definite, specific steps are taken in the direction of a Christian solution. People crave peace; statesmen responsible for the policies of governments quite sincerely desire peace; but, nevertheless, as if by inexorable fate, people and statesmen alike are driven by the present world situation to engage in staggering preparations for war, and sooner or later they find themselves launched into the brutal reality of war itself. This is the problem of peace which is faced by the modern world.

Is there some distinctive contribution which Christian conviction has to make in this critical situation? Christians believe that the world is

not in the hands of an inexorable fate, but is under the governance of a loving God. We cannot believe that this impassé of our modern world, which seems to be moving like a drama to its inevitable, tragic end, is in harmony with God's purpose of love and good will. What, then, has our Christian faith to say in this emergency? Is there any special significance in the fact that, parallel with this modern process which has made the world into an interdependent neighborhood, and also a vast enemyhood, the world-wide Christian fellowship has been developing? This fellowship cuts across national lines and has resulted in the growth of a Christian community "whose bounds are coextensive with the habitable (inhabited)<sup>1</sup> world." Is there any significance for the problem of peace in the fact that a conference, made up of representatives of sixty different national groups, some of them nations actually at war, met in December 1938, at Madras, India, on the common platform of faith in Christ? Has Christianity in this form of world unity "come to the kingdom for such a time as this?" If we believe that this may be the case how, specifi-

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<sup>1</sup> We have learned from Dr. John Mackay, the Chairman of the Commission at Oxford, from whose report this phrase is taken, that the word "habitable" should have been "inhabited."

cally, shall it be made to contribute to a solution of the problem of peace? If an adequate answer to these questions can be found hope will be possible in the midst of this critical situation.

Developments which have taken place in the means of transportation and in important news facilities, together with the growth of a highly interdependent industrial system with its attendant business organization and foreign investment, have revolutionized the world in which we live. It is difficult even yet to realize how rapidly and how completely distance and time have been conquered. The strange, slow world, so recently left behind, was brought back in our imagination at the time of the opening of the New York World's Fair when Denys Wortman, impersonating George Washington, repeated the first President's journey by stage coach from Mt. Vernon to New York for his first inaugural. The fastest stage coach, one hundred and fifty years ago, took eighteen days to go from Boston to Savannah, Georgia. In one day one could barely get beyond the bounds of Massachusetts. Not only was travel painfully slow but it was also laborious and limited to a few people. Two stage-coaches could take all the passengers to leave Boston in a given day. Travel by water was also slow and even more uncertain than travel

by land. The sail or the oar had been the sole method of propulsion for ocean and river craft for centuries. People travelled little and places fifty miles away were unbelievably remote. Each community was self-contained. Even in the most advanced countries most families raised their own food, wove cloth and made their own clothing, and built their own homes. What a different world we live in today! We can scarcely realize that the revolution in transportation which has given us our closely knit modern life began, as time is reckoned in the life of the human race, only yesterday. The beginning of the vast network of railroads which crosses the land areas of the earth dates from 1825,<sup>2</sup> only a little over a century ago. The first Atlantic crossing by a steamship was made from Rotterdam to the West Indies in 1827 and the journey took 30 days.<sup>3</sup> The celebration this year (1939) of the one hundredth anniversary of the Cunard Steamship Company emphasizes the fact that all the amazing refinements of steam boat travel have taken place within one brief century.

But while the basic changes brought about by the development of the railroad and steamship

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<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica.*

<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica.*

took place in a single century, the more drastic revolution produced by the airplane has occurred within the last twenty-five years. We are now in the midst of this development. Almost every day the newspaper brings its report of radical advances in this type of travel. It was only in July of this year that the first round trip airplane crossing of the North Atlantic with paid passengers was made. Twelve passengers and a crew of eleven were carried and the crossing from Horta was made in eighteen hours. One passenger, who was on the first eastward flight of the Atlantic Clipper, continued on around the world making the journey by commercial air lines in sixteen days at a cost of only two thousand, five hundred dollars. On August 2, 1939, the United States Army Air Corps, with fifteen hundred planes in the air, celebrated only the thirtieth anniversary of the Army's purchase of the first airplane. The first plane weighed eight hundred pounds, carried a twenty-five horse-power engine, and went about forty-seven miles an hour. The new Boeings in use today weigh thirty tons, develop four thousand horse-power, and have speeds well over three hundred miles an hour. Each year records new advances.

How swift has been this development in trans-

portation is illustrated by the following table: <sup>4</sup>

*Fastest Passenger*

<i>Traffic</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1914</i>	<i>1937</i>
Berlin-London		24 hrs.	5 hrs.
Berlin-New York	8/10 days	5 days	5 days
Berlin-Buenos Aires		18 days	3 days (post)
Berlin-Sydney		6 weeks	9 days

In the two years since this table was prepared the time between the United States and Europe has been still further cut to about twenty-four hours. While the time span of the thirteen colonies was from fifteen to twenty days, today one can cross the whole of the United States in less than one day, go to any part of South America in two days and in ten days encircle the globe.

Someone has figured out mathematically that in terms of the length of time required to travel any given distance, either on land or sea, today as compared with fifty years ago, the earth has shrunk from the size of a football to the size of an English walnut.<sup>5</sup> This shrinking process with every advance of science is still going on.

A development which is still more revolu-

<sup>4</sup> Von der Gabletz, O. H., *The Universal Church and the World of Nations*, Chicago: Willett, Clarke & Co., page 69. Quoted by permission.

<sup>5</sup> Randall, John Herman, *A World Community*, Frederick A. Stokes Company, pages 21 and 22. Used by permission.

tionary in its effect upon human life is that which has taken place in the transmission of news. In the days of the stage-coach news and men travelled at the same speed. Weeks elapsed before an event taking place at one extremity of the American Colonies could be known at the other. News from other countries of the world was infrequent and out-of-date. The battle of New Orleans in the War of 1812 was fought after the peace treaty had been signed in Europe. Today the transmission of news is so complete that an event taking place at one point on the earth's surface is known almost immediately everywhere else in the world. The radio has brought about such a further revolution that the actual progress of an event can be followed in the homes of all the world. During the week-end preceding the declaration of war in Europe the families of the world in their own homes, separated by thousands of miles of sea and land, followed with the utmost tenseness the progress of events. The world crises of today are not learned about after the event: they are participated in as the event is taking place.

It is no longer possible under these circumstances for a nation to proceed with its policies in isolation. Its operations are an open book for all men to read. Every action must be taken

with an eye to its immediate effect beyond the boundaries of the particular country concerned. This is a quite different situation from that which has obtained up to very recent times. Events move more rapidly and the tempo of change has been greatly accelerated. Isolation has ceased to be a fact so far as physical relationships are concerned.

At the same time that these changes have taken place in transportation and communication, the world has been changed from primitive village economy into a highly organized interdependent industrial system. The progress in transportation has made it possible to bring raw materials from the ends of the earth for processing, and to carry on free exchange of the finished product. Where in the Middle Ages commerce was confined to luxuries, today nations are dependent upon one another for the very necessities of life. Commerce is no longer confined to the exchange of the margin of production, but it has become an interchange of necessities.<sup>6</sup> Rubber, for example, has become almost as necessary to American life as food, but every ounce of crude rubber must be brought

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<sup>6</sup> Shotwell, James T., *War as an Instrument of National Policy*, N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Company, page 14. Used by permission.



from abroad. One ship direct from Sumatra will land two million pounds at the Rouge plant of the Ford Motor Company to be converted in six hours into indispensable automobile tires. Every day when we use our automobile we, unconsciously perhaps, acknowledge our debt to the Malayan who works on the rubber plantation of the Malay States. The activities of the orange-red coccus or lac-insect of India are of primary importance to the citizen of the United States. The shellac thus secured goes into the manufacture of buttons, phonograph records, and imitation ivory. It is a part of the receiver of every telephone. It is found in oilcloth, linoleum, shoe polishes, trunks, picture frames, mirrors, etc. The United States is dependent upon other nations for a large part of the fibres it needs. During the Great War twelve American ships loaded with henequen (sisal) were held up by Yucatan. Immediate pressure was brought upon the American Government to take action at once lest for the lack of binding cord the American corn and wheat crop could not be harvested. The President of one of the subsidiaries of the United States Steel Corporation has given the information that about fifty commodities brought from fifty-seven countries go into the

manufacture of steel. Products from the Caucasus, from India, Brazil, Rhodesia, New Caledonia, Canada and Peru, enter into the locomotives that pull the trains of the country. The paint or color chemist must be familiar with over one thousand materials coming from all parts of the world.<sup>7</sup> The United States must import for food or industrial processes, tin, nickel, rubber, jute, cork, palm oil, silk, bananas, pineapples, rice, coffee, tea, and a number of other essential products. Less than one half of Great Britain's food requirements are supplied by home production. Since 1871 Germany has been dependent upon other countries for wool, cotton, rubber, metals, wood, oil, and food stuffs.

The growth in trade across national lines as a result of this growing interdependence has been amazing. For, if a nation must buy from other countries, it must also sell. Even Germany, where the movement for a self-sustained economy has been most marked, is still dependent on foreign trade. Herr Hitler a short while before the war said, "Germany must export or die." The value of this international trade tripled between 1860 and 1900, and then dou-

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<sup>7</sup> Redfield, William C., *Dependent America*, N. Y.: Houghton Mifflin Company, pages 19, 23, 38 and 182. Used by permission.

bled in the thirteen years prior to the World War. This exchange of goods means that the ordinary citizen of every country is dependent for his daily life upon the citizens of many other countries. Physical isolation has given place to intimate relationships which have become a necessity. If the women of America refuse to wear silk, farming families in the remote corners of Japan suffer.

Investment has followed commerce until the nationals of one country become profoundly interested in what happens to business in many other countries. For example, nationals in Japan, England, France, the United States and other countries are deeply concerned about what is happening in China today because of the huge investments which they have made there. The extent to which capital has crossed national boundaries is nothing short of amazing. British investments in the United States total \$2,300,000,000. Total aggregate foreign investments in the United States amount to \$7,883,000,000.<sup>8</sup> American investments abroad in 1926 totalled \$11,215,000,000, by far the greater part of these having been made since 1914.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *New York Times*, August 30, 1939.

<sup>9</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

Business organization has followed foreign investment. Today American automobile factories, oil refineries and other industrial units are scattered over the face of the earth. The result is a vast closely-woven fabric of interrelated human life across the world. The Arabs on the Persian Gulf suddenly awake from centuries of isolation to find a great oil camp, organized by Americans on American lines, set down in their midst. An oil well catches fire at Damman, Arabia, and men from Texas have to be sent by air to the Persian Gulf to put out the fire. The New York Stock Exchange is not able to close on Saturdays during the summer because organizations and individuals from other countries accustomed to use the facilities of the Exchange would be adversely affected.<sup>10</sup>

All these facts which go to show that the world has become almost over night a vast interdependent neighborhood are common knowledge as facts. Everyone knows that the modern world is a physical neighborhood; but the process which has made it such has taken place so rapidly, and the results have been so revolutionary, that while the fact is intellectually understood, it has not yet, in any appreciable

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<sup>10</sup> *New York Times*, July 18 and 29, 1939.

degree, become a part of the instinctive background of daily human life.

The important point is that while human life went on comparatively unchanged for thousands of years, the last one hundred and fifty years have almost completely revolutionized the total aspect of human relationships. In fact the more drastic of these changes in our modern world have occurred in the lifetime of many people now living.

It is too much to expect that the human race, accustomed for centuries to limited horizons and ignorant of remoter peoples and customs, should in the space of the lifetime of one or two generations adjust itself to such revolutionary changes in the background of life. The story is told of some native carriers in South America who after several days of hard travelling refused to move one morning because they said they had to wait until their spirits caught up. Technological advance has been so rapid that man's spirit has not been able to make the adjustment required by the change. Modern man with the provincialism of a day that is past finds himself suddenly thrust into a world which calls for an outlook that he does not yet possess.

While the world is physically a vast interdependent neighborhood, spiritually it is an

equally vast enemyhood. In sharp contrast to the physical shrinking of the world into one geographical community, the world is divided and sub-divided into areas of suspicion, hate and fear. In fact, it may almost be said that in proportion as nations have become interdependent, they have become mutually hostile.

We are presented with a strange paradox. While continuing improvement in the means of transportation and the mutual dependence of nations require the free exchange of goods, fear makes every nation bent upon becoming a self-contained unit, dependent upon no one else. Scientific development has brought our neighbors to our very doors; but artificial national boundaries have been set up, and the different peoples of the world animated by suspicion and fear shrink behind these boundaries, and make every effort to keep out these same neighbors and their goods. For example, we in America have built an economy based on the necessity of increased export, while we seem determined not to import. We insist upon selling and we resent it when others refuse to buy, while we see no inconsistency in our refusing to purchase.

It is easy to understand how this happens. In each country the number of people, who cross

the frontiers or engage in trade relations with other people, is comparatively small. This group is usually able to surmount the narrowly provincial viewpoint. The great bulk of the population, however, live psychologically in the atmosphere of a day when physical isolation was the actual fact. They are animated by the peasant and bourgeois spirit of the precapitalistic economic system. They are critical of all international relations. "To them, foreign goods and foreign fashions are primarily a menace to traditional powers and institutions."<sup>11</sup>

Since the financial collapse of 1929-33 in the United States the spirit that is native to this large group has been given a wider application and, while the airplane and the radio have proceeded with their work of bringing the nations together, this spirit of isolationism has deepened rather than lessened in its intensity. The Hull trade policy is intended to obviate the artificial barriers which have been put up in recent years in international trade, but with painfully inadequate results. The recent trade pact with Great Britain, for example, provides for the sale of 600,000 bales of cotton in exchange for 85,-

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<sup>11</sup> von der Gablentz, Dr. O. H., *The Universal Church and the World of Nations*, Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, page 81. Quoted by permission.

ooo tons of rubber, valued at \$30,000,000, but the cotton thus disposed of represents hardly six per cent of the 11,000,000 bales surplus currently held in Government warehouses in the United States.

This illustrates a trend which is world-wide. And yet, it is as utterly impossible to stop the growing advance of the world towards fuller interdependence as it would be to stop the movement of the tides. It is impossible deliberately to abandon modern methods of production and communication and return again to the primitive days that have been forever left behind. As a matter of fact, scientific advance is being eagerly pressed forward by all nations at the very time when they are struggling against its consequences.<sup>12</sup> No greater paradox is imaginable than a set of circumstances which produces the spanning of the Atlantic by the American Clipper in the same summer that witnessed the outbreak of another world war.

The great tragedy of the present situation is that growing interdependence has brought about not a sense of community on a world scale, but a deepening resentment of one people against another. What is in fact a universal and

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<sup>12</sup> Muir, Ramsey, *The Interdependent World and its Problems*.



quite impersonal pressure on all sides toward integration, becomes personalized and is looked upon as an unwarranted and purposeful encroachment of one nation upon another.

Consequently, during the last decade the nations of the world undertook preparations for war on a scale never before reached in history. In 1932 the national defense expenditures of sixty countries amounted to \$3,783,700,000. By 1938 this figure had increased to \$17,581,300,000, and the figures for 1939, even though war had not occurred in Europe, would most certainly have revealed a further increase. The corresponding figures for the United States are \$699,000,000 and \$1,123,000,000; for Great Britain \$426,000,000 and \$1,693,300,000.<sup>13</sup> A comparatively poor nation, such as Poland, for example, was spending fifty-five per cent of its total budget for war preparation. In 1933 the world's standing armies numbered 7,000,000 men, its navies totalled 3,000,000 tons, its military planes were 14,000 and \$4,000,000,000 were spent to keep the men and machines of war. In 1938 armies had increased to 10,000,000, naval tonnage to 8,000,000, military planes had about trebled, and these military establish-

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<sup>13</sup> *The Herald Tribune*, July 17, 1939, reports that the United States Army will ask for \$1,650,000,000 in 1940.

ments cost \$17,000,000,000. This year with the U.S.S.R. war budget at \$8,000,000,000, these figures prior to the war were again sharply increasing.<sup>14</sup> On the verge of the war Europe had under arms, actually mobilised and ready for immediate action, 8,000,000 soldiers. This was exclusive of Russia, Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and others of the smaller nations.<sup>15</sup>

This is not the place to discuss the deeper implications of this increasing burden of armament, but it ought perhaps to be noted that it is not accurate to attribute this armament situation to the activities of Hitler and Mussolini. Deeper reasons must be sought. The Versailles Treaty provided for the disarmament of Germany and a decrease in the armament of the other powers. Armament conferences met in an attempt to make the latter agreement effective but little was accomplished. As a matter of fact disarmament conferences have really not been disarmament conferences at all. They have rather been conferences to seek a balance of armaments. It is true that the rearmament of Germany and the aggressive development of Italy have served to intensify the renewed re-

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<sup>14</sup> *Time Magazine*, June 12, 1939.

<sup>15</sup> *New York Times*, August 7, 1939.

armament race of the great powers, but to take a single isolated development which has served to accentuate a universal tendency and give that as the cause for the tendency does not help in a real understanding of the problem but only serves to befog the issue.

Another aspect of this enemyhood which is characteristic of our world today is the war of words that is being carried on between the various nations. Leading statesmen in the several nations vie with one another in incrimination and recrimination. The temper of these public utterances is vastly more irascible than has been customary even in a past which was never characterized by extreme softness. The more sarcastic a speaker on behalf of his country can be when considering the opinions or actions of the "enemy" country, the more his people approve and rejoice. Could anyone read the series of papers and addresses exchanged between the great powers during the last twelve months and doubt that the world today is an enemyhood?

This enmity is symptomatic of the fact that spiritual development has not kept pace with the drive toward the world unity which has resulted from technological advance. Mutual trust and confidence based on an acceptance of the spiritual truth of the brotherhood of all men

has been submerged in selfish rivalries. We have today not a united world but a world divided and sub-divided into areas of suspicion and hate.

Another strange paradox is that this intensification in hostility among the nations has taken place along with, and in spite of, the spiritual yearning for brotherhood which has expressed itself in a striking growth of sentiment and organization for peace.

Today thirty-nine peace organizations are listed in the National Peace Conference of the United States. Of these, only a very few were in existence before 1900. The Peace Committee which eventuated in the present Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches was organized as late as 1911. Most of the commissions on international relations now formed in the various communions of the United States were not in existence before the World War. By ten years ago thirty-six communions had such commissions, and there were peace organizations in fifty-seven of the state and city councils of churches. This number has still further increased in more recent years. "Fifty years ago the only women's organizations working for peace were a dozen groups in Europe called

Olive Leaf Circles, which had been organized by men as Ladies Auxiliaries to the 'Universal Brotherhood of Man.' " <sup>16</sup> Today there are several million women in such organizations. Before the World War there were no national or international women's groups organized solely for the promotion of peace. The modern peace movement among women as we know it today has, therefore, developed within the past twenty-five years. It is hardly necessary further to elaborate the point. College groups, the service clubs, labor unions, chambers of commerce, all have developed in the last decades a vital interest in peace. National peace missions have been organized and carried out, a staggering amount of peace literature has been produced, and truly heroic efforts within nations and across national lines have been put forth in the cause of peace.

The number of conscientious objectors has also greatly increased in recent years. Fellowship groups of the type of the Fellowship of Reconciliation have increased in work and influence not only in the United States but in Europe and the countries of the Far East. A number of polls of Protestant ministers has shown a large number of avowed pacifists

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<sup>16</sup> Boeckel, Florence Brewer, *Between War and Peace*, N. Y.: The Macmillan Company, page 106. Quoted by permission.

among the Protestant ministry of this country. The *Christian Century* in its issue of June 28, 1939 discusses the growth in the number of conscientious objectors in England. Of the 219,964 men who registered under the military training act 3,775 asked to be listed as conscientious objectors. This represents objectors in one youthful age class only, a class not old enough to have had any experience of the World War. If this same proportion should hold, it is argued, for all age groups that were called up in the World War the number of objectors would exceed 100,000 as compared with 16,100 who resisted the military service acts between 1916-18. Efforts for peace have been greatly increased in recent times but preparations for war have been accelerated at an even greater rate.

It would be natural to expect that these truly heroic peace efforts would result in a diminution of enmities, suspicion and war preparation. The contrary is the fact. There are several reasons for this, but one factor undoubtedly is that these activities of peace-loving people are based on certain common suppositions which are unwarranted by the facts of the actual situation.

One of these common ideas is that propinquity makes for friendship. We have thought that if we could only get people near enough

together so that they would understand each other peace would be assured. Another expression of this same idea is that mutual understanding will produce peace. While efforts toward understanding are not without value they are, in reality, comparatively ineffective in preventing war and bringing about peace.

This idea that propinquity and mutual understanding will produce peace is at the basis of much of our excellent peace education in the elementary schools of the country which, through story and picture, help children to know the customs and habits of other peoples. These children may be ever so peace-loving but when, in the world of nation-states with their fears and jealousies, their state is called upon to defend a righteous cause (and of course all causes for which states fight are deemed righteous) experience has shown that these same children as grown men are the first to volunteer for service. The young men of the United States who went overseas in 1917-18 were those who as children had received peace education in the schools. Furthermore, these same young men as veterans are often the ones most active in keeping alive in the public schools the tradition of war, and the belief in war as a way of solving international problems.

That "mere propinquity is no sounder a basis for international peace than for marital bliss"<sup>17</sup> is proved by our experience with Canada and Mexico. So far as propinquity is concerned Canada and Mexico are in precisely similar relationship, but with Canada the United States has fought no wars, while with Mexico one war has been fought and other cases of semi-war have occurred. Indeed with regard to the European situation propinquity would seem to predispose nations to antipathy, suspicion and war. The fact is clear that hostility cannot be prevented merely by mutual knowledge. Unless one starts with a spirit of neighborliness and brotherly concern, the more one knows about one's neighbor the less he may like him.

The fallacy in thinking increasing contact to be a road to peace results from the belief that wars arise through misunderstanding. Mere knowledge of other peoples is not enough. A larger kind of understanding is required in which tolerance and appreciation are "fused with the knowledge" of other peoples.<sup>18</sup> Even this however is still ineffective in bringing

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<sup>17</sup> Allen, Devere, *The Fight for Peace*, N. Y.: The Macmillan Company, page 255. Quoted by permission.

<sup>18</sup> Stratton, George Malcolm, *Social Psychology of International Conduct*, N. Y.: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., page 133. Quoted by permission.



about peace among the nations because of the anarchy prevailing in international affairs.

It is a highly debatable question whether commerce, which is an aspect of propinquity, really makes for peace. It is undoubtedly true that the group actually engaged in international commerce in each nation is most inclined to disapprove of war since their livelihood is involved. But the rivalry created by the search for markets and the ill-feeling produced by trade restrictions far overbalance whatever influence for peace might be exerted by the particular group engaged in the actual trading itself. For this commercial rivalry results in policies adopted by the nation as a whole to protect trade and secure for it advantageous conditions. This rivalry is thus something different from the ordinary commercial competition of individuals within one nation against individuals within another nation; it becomes a rivalry of one nation against another. This is progressively true with the present day tendency to state management and state control. Russia was one of the best markets which Germany had for her manufactured goods in 1914 and Germany's growing commercial prosperity had greatly expanded her trade with England. This did not prevent the war. On the other hand, commer-

cial rivalry in raw materials, tariff schedules, sea routes, railroad rivalry—backed by policies adopted by the nations as a whole—was a major factor in the situation out of which the war developed.<sup>19</sup>

It is unrealistic to expect that the casual associations of commercial transactions, many of which are in any event quite impersonal in character, should result in the social integration which is required for world peace. The commercial relationships established in the nineteenth century among the nations were the result of a combination of separate self-interests. So far from these resulting in social integration on an international scale, the actual result has been an intensification of disintegration. "Economic interdependence" cannot be identified with "moral interdependence."<sup>20</sup> Competition for markets has served rather to intensify national rivalries. In the case of Germany in the World War, the self-interest which had promoted trade with Russia and England did not result in a community of interest. On the contrary, the demand for a place in the sun, arising

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<sup>19</sup> Bryce, James, *International Relations*, N. Y.: The Macmillan Company, pages 88 and 89. Used by permission.

<sup>20</sup> Zimmern, Sir Alfred in *The Universal Church and the World of Nations*, Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, pages 29 and 30. Used by permission.

from the rivalry and pressure by which Germany was surrounded, took precedence, and the importance of the trade which had been built up with England and Russia became secondary. Similarly, when the history of the present war in Europe is written, it probably will become clear that considerations arising from commercial rivalry and the struggle for the control of raw materials swept aside as quite temporary any consideration of the loss of trade which would result through war. Commerce did not prevent the war; rather, commercial rivalry played its part in producing it.

The attitude of individuals is quite different from the attitude of those same individuals when acting in a "psychological crowd." Nations confront one another as collectives. The individual's personal sympathies and antipathies have very little relation to his actual conduct when he acts as a member of the collective that is the modern state. The individual engaged in trade in a given nation may prefer peace to war as an individual, but when he is swept up into the collective he is almost certain to follow his state into war.

The most serious of these popular illusions is that which cherishes the hope that wars can be prevented by agitation for peace. Particu-

larly in America do we put great faith in anti-war, pro-peace education. We believe in democracy, and we have faith in the democratic process, which is rooted in public opinion registered through popular vote. We act in the belief that if we can develop a majority opinion against war we can attain the desired goal. This is the common assumption not only of peace societies but of many even in public life. President Coolidge is quoted by Charles Clayton Morrison in *The Outlawry of War* as saying: "I feel strongly that public opinion, based on proper information, working through agencies that the common man can see and understand, may be made the ultimate authority among nations. . . . Nor is it believable that a world-wide public opinion which frowned upon war could be defied by any nation, however powerful. . . . None may risk the ill opinion of civilization." This makes strange reading today, yet that has been the dream which all of us in the peace movement have cherished. The actual fact seems to be that a majority desire for peace within a given country has very little more to do with the issues of war and peace than the desire for employment on the part of the mass of the unemployed in America today has to do with the restoration of normal business. In

spite of an overwhelming peace sentiment England pressed her preparation for war on an unprecedented scale, and this sentiment did not prevent her from declaring war on Germany. The same thing is true with regard to war preparation in our own country. To be sure the policy of preparedness is pressed, as it always has been, in the name of peace, on the principle that the best way to avoid war is to be prepared. But any common sense reading of the history of modern times gives the lie to this argument; it may delay but it cannot prevent.

There are a number of reasons why public opinion in our world as it is organized today cannot be effective in preventing war. Even within a nation public opinion can be effective only when it is channeled through some organization, such as that provided in the representative or republican form of government in the United States. In Japan, for example, public opinion has very little opportunity to function for the governmental organization does not provide adequate opportunity for its effective channeling into governmental action. In the international field there is no organization through which world public opinion can be converted into action. The League of Nations is based on sovereign states. Actions taken there

are to a certain extent affected by public opinion within the several states, but this opinion is registered not as a unit on a world scale but in isolation through the system of nation-states composing the League. Consequently the sentiment for peace which is present in the several nations of the world cannot function to any appreciable extent across national lines.

The difficulty is that there is no machinery for channeling public opinion on a world scale. The combined peace sentiment of all the nations does not readily become a world sentiment for peace under our present system of nation-states. Under this system of national groupings the actions of other states become personalized in our thinking and are viewed entirely apart from the sentiments of the people who compose the particular state concerned. In other words public opinion is effective only within the individual state and then only to a limited extent. When one state becomes set over against another state the sentiment for peace quickly gives way to the more primitive instincts of self-preservation, considerations of honor and dignity and the like.

Much peace sentiment springs from an almost mystic belief that if we talk peace long enough peace will come. As a matter of fact, the actual

situation seems to be that war takes place quite apart from the conscious ideals of the peoples of the various nations. Christians particularly have based their peace efforts upon the assumption that war can be controlled through the exercise of conscious and moral ideals, whereas the truth is that war persists today in defiance of very widespread desires for peace. As Charles Clayton Morrison said in discussing the Kellogg Peace Pact, "until the proposal for the outlawry of war, the peace movement was lacking in a comprehensive and clear insight into the nature of the thing it was out to destroy. War has been approached in a sort of mystical mood. Its essential nature has not been thoughtfully considered and objectively defined. As a consequence the peace movement has been characterized by an almost blind empiricism. Lacking the chart and rudder of a seasoned understanding of war, our peace programs have represented reactions to a sort of obscurantist stimulus just to do *something*, with the result that they have for the most part gone wide of the mark or have confused the essential issue by dragging in irrelevant controversies which preclude agreement and inhibit decisive action."<sup>21</sup> The philosophy

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<sup>21</sup> Morrison, Charles Clayton, *The Outlawry of War*, Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, pages VII and VIII of the preface. Quoted by permission.

behind the Peace Pact does not seem to be an adequate answer to the problem but the quotation is pertinent because it points out the "blind empiricism" which has characterized much of our effort for peace.

Peace is not a thing in itself, whether in a given community or in the world of nations; peace is the resultant of a balance between the static and dynamic desires.<sup>22</sup> So soon as the equilibrium becomes too radically out of balance the dissatisfied group or nation presses for satisfaction. The satisfied or static group tends to resist and, unless political processes are available which are flexible enough to meet the situation and make the required changes, an explosion takes place. Thus a revolution within a state or a war in the international field "breaks out," as we say. It is essential, therefore, that we clearly realize that peace is not an end in itself but flows from the application of justice and right. Peace for St. Augustine was "the tranquillity which springs from order."

Because this is so, people often justify the abandonment of a sentimental attachment to peace for measures that point in the direction of war or for war itself by saying that there are

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<sup>22</sup> Dulles, John Foster, *War, Peace and Change*, Harper & Brothers Publishers, page 30. Used by permission.



some things more important than peace. Irrespective of the wisdom of the particular steps taken at the time when this reason is alleged, it must be admitted that the reason is a sound one. For men will live in peace when there is a reasonable measure of satisfaction for their vital needs, real or supposed. Peace is not produced by a simple will to peace, but it is the resultant of conditions of justice and right.

"Peace is not a negative but a positive thing. It is not the absence of war but the presence of justice and right. It is not an end in itself but the outcome of such an adjustment of human relationships as satisfies essential human rights and gives a sense of security to peoples and nations. It is that which issues from an equitable administration of justice as between individuals or states."<sup>23</sup>

In spite of the growing interdependence of the nations of the world, in spite of an abundant will to peace among the peoples of the several states, a major war has been in progress for two years in East Asia, another war has begun in Europe and war preparations are being feverishly pressed in those nations not now at war. We seem as far from a solution of the problem

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<sup>23</sup> From an address by the author at the Foreign Missions Conference, Toronto, Canada, January 1938.

of peace as at any point in history. As Christians we are compelled to face this situation as realistically as we can. Are there to be found in the Christian Gospel basic principles which, if applied, will offer hope of a solution? This is the question with which we are here concerned, but first we must proceed with an analysis of the factors inherent in the existing political world situation. We must seek to discover the kind of ideas which are actually functioning today in existing international relations. Before attempting to discuss the Christian world view, it is necessary to know what are the dominant conceptions, which, as a matter of actual fact, are in operation in the world of nations today.

## II

### THE CURRENT WORLD VIEW

Not humanity but the nation or race is the basic point of departure for human organization in the modern world. This is not limited to the type of state which might almost be called the *reductio ad absurdum* of the nation-state idea—the totalitarian state. It should be clear as we proceed that in essence the germ of modern totalitarianism is contained in all modern nation-states, not excepting those whose form of government is democratic, and in this concept of the nation-state humanity is submerged.

In order to maintain correct perspective it needs to be recalled that the nation-state as we have it today is of comparatively recent origin. There were no European states in the modern sense before the Protestant Reformation. The world of the Middle Ages was held together by the Catholic Church. This represented to the different racial groups of which Europe was composed the universal which all must obey and from which issued all final authority. The unity of the Empire which had been scarcely more

than a fiction at the latter end of the Middle Ages was shattered by the Reformation and "Europe split into sections, politically, ecclesiastically, and emotionally."<sup>1</sup> It is instructive to remember that nationalism came into being as a great movement of revolt against the institution which represented the universal, claimed universal authority and was, at the same time, international.

So long as the nations of Europe were a single community subject to Pope and Emperor it was clear that the nation as well as the individual was under the moral law. Following the Reformation, however, each nation became a separate unit recognizing the authority of no superior. The separation of the temporal and spiritual power left the state a law unto itself.

The Church dealt with the individual in spiritual matters. In political matters he was subject to the state. In time, with the development of a number of churches, men lost the vision of the universality of the Kingdom of God. They came to think that the churches had nothing to do with international politics and that in questions between nations the writ of God's law

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<sup>1</sup> Huber, Max, *The Universal Church and the World of Nations*, Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, page 108. Quoted by permission.

did not run. The individual nation came to represent the ultimate boundary of human concern for the members of that particular nation. Thus arose a world which became increasingly an economic unit, but which was not in any sense a political or a moral unit—a world in which each nation pursued its own interests without reference to a universal moral law.

Just as the principles underlying the Protestant Reformation made for particularism in dogma and church organization resulting in the present chaos of denominationalism, so the revolt against the political authority of the Church eventuated in particularism in political organization. For when the center of gravity is shifted from universal humanity under God to man as the member of a race or group, logically, each racial group, however small, should have its own group organization. Although smaller states in time tended to merge into federated units, such as the German States, the Swiss Cantons and the Italian City-States, racial groups within such nations are inclined to apply the doctrine of self-determination to themselves, with the result that there is the constant tendency to divide and sub-divide into smaller and smaller states. The nation of the present day, as international law and diplomatic usage un-

derstand it, has come to mean people living in a fixed territory under one political control to which they acknowledge allegiance. Whether the people within this territory are or are not a racial unity, the doctrine of self-determination is applied to each nation as constituted. The doctrine of the self-determination of peoples, which has been so readily accepted in our day, is, in another sense, a *reductio ad absurdum* of the nation-state idea.

This doctrine on a purely racial basis has played a large part in the program of Germany under Hitler. It remains to be seen how this is to be applied to the division of Poland between Germany and Russia, since under this division other than Germans have been included within the German state.

In its revolt against the Church whose authority was not derived from within the human sphere, the new state had to find its authority on a secular basis. The French Revolution with its appeal to natural reason furnished this new basis for the authority of the state. Today the idea of the state has been completely secularized. Whether it be the contract theory which holds that the state derives its authority from the consent of the governed or the blood and soil doctrine of the totalitarian state, the ulti-

mate authority is to be found not in a field of reference that is outside man and universal for all men, but has its basis within the human sphere and, in the one case at least, within a particular group of mankind. One school of anthropology today contends that since, in contrast with distinct species in the animal world, there is no race in the human family which will not mix biologically with any other race, no innate aversion between races really exists. This tends to prove that biologically the human race is one and that it is environment and not blood that makes race as it is known today. If this proves to be true the idea of race and the self-determination of races becomes a quite artificial conception. In the nation-state, however, the universal is abandoned for the relative, the international gives place to the national. Each state finds its authority within its own frame work. The particularism of race or group rather than the integration of humanity becomes the norm.

The state, resting as it does in the last analysis on the merely human for its authority, starts with the individual man, but not man as a member of humanity but man as a member of a particular racial or national group. The nation thus becomes the embodiment of that particu-

lar race or group. It is not composed of the individuals in the group, as a house is made of separate bricks, but it is a living, organic embodiment of the group. It can be best expressed perhaps by Plato's conception that the nation is the individual writ large. The best example of this is to be found not in a state of the western world, although Germany is seeking to achieve it, but in the Orient. Japan through a long history has developed a type of state in which the racial individual has been personified and elevated to the divine. In the person of the Emperor the Japanese race is gathered up. He is the father of his people. From his ancestors and the members of the original divine family the Japanese people also have descended. He does not represent the nation; he is the personification of the Japanese race itself. In him each Japanese recognizes what is of real importance or of final value in his own life. The Emperor of Japan is in fact the individual Japanese writ large and clothed with eternal significance. In passing it should be noted that even where, as in the case of Japan, the race in the person of the Emperor is deified, the particularism which characterizes the state idea is not denied, because the organic relationship which obtains between the Emperor and his people,



which the Japanese call the *kokutai*, is limited to Japanese and Japanese alone. The benefits of the heavenly way may be shared with other nations and races but these benefits are to be bestowed and cannot be a part of an organic and living relationship. Neither does the Japanese state, in spite of its quasi-divinity, deny the fact that the basis of the modern doctrine of the state is secular; for Japanese Shinto must necessarily be a racial religion, confined within the human frame work of the one race and, for the rest of the world at least, can never be looked upon as having a sanction in the universal.

But the Japanese state is nothing more than what might be called a mature example of what is to be found in essence in all modern states. The state tends to become a mystical entity representing for the individual within that state his own collective interest. The flag becomes a symbol of mystical importance. The state is something more than a collection of individuals; it becomes the personification of the group. This is as true of a democratic state, such as the United States, as it is of any other modern state. This gathering up into one group consciousness of each individual racial man tends to divest him of all his particular characteristics as an

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individual, and results in a generalized individualness; the ego that is in each member of the nation is lifted up and fused into one vast ego which stands for all. This is a fact of the greatest importance in an understanding of the actual world order of today. It is what Mussolini with the utmost frankness calls "sacred egoism."

The obverse side of this egoism of modern states is a sense of "otherness" which becomes personalized into opposing groupings that take on the character of divinity. This has profound influence in international relations. Other nations are regarded as of inferior origin, less favored and less capable. They are the "lesser breeds without the law." It is considered impossible that they should be animated by the same high motives as is one's own nation. In fact, this aspect of nationalism is simply the survival in the modern world of the attitude of the peasant in a more primitive civilization. He is inordinately conceited about the merits of his own village or his own field. He is suspicious of the outlander even from another village and cannot conceive that he should be of the same stuff as his own villagers. My things, my family, my village, are best; whatever is not mine is different, distinct, and, therefore, inferior and to be despised or feared. Among cer-

tain tribes in Africa, for example, the word "stranger" is the same as for "enemy."

Nations confront one another as personalized units. It is not the people of one nation who confront the people of another, but it is as one personalized, racial or national individual that one nation stands over against another. We even tend to personalize each nation in the press and in public address. The cartoonist pictures England as John Bull and the United States as Uncle Sam. During the World War it was not Germany but "the Kaiser" whom we were fighting. Today England and France are not fighting the German people but Hitler. These personalized units whether in a time of peace or a time of war always tend to look upon one another with suspicion and fear.

The maxim delivered by a famous politician of the sixteenth century, "every state that can injure us is our natural enemy," is a true statement of the normal temper of modern states as they confront one another as personalized "group authorities" convinced of their own distinctiveness and of their complete difference from all other states.

John Foster Dulles in *War, Peace, and Change*, makes the point that this fact is of great importance in maintaining national unity. He

goes so far as to question whether it is possible in the present state of development for a group authority in a given state to perform all of its functions unless it is able to conjure up the threat of injury from without on the part of other personalized states who have alleged predatory intentions. He says, "Furthermore, it is questionable whether, in our present state of mental development, the national group authority can perform all of the tasks which it assumes without invoking the stimulus derived from fear of the aggression of others. This creates a reluctance to dissipate such fear through internationalizing the device of the group authority."<sup>2</sup>

A striking illustration of this fact comes from the current situation in East Asia. Japan finds herself in the midst of a serious war. Her people believed when the war was begun that it would be a short war concluded in a few months. Instead, it has dragged on for more than two years with attendant strain which bears heavily upon the people. While the Japanese people are unusually amenable to group authority it is none the less necessary that this group solidarity should be strengthened by constant stimulation. It is difficult to stir up the people of the country

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<sup>2</sup> Dulles, John Foster, *War, Peace and Change*, N. Y.: Harper & Brothers Publishers, page 36. Quoted by permission.

by arousing fear of China. Although the war has continued longer than anticipated each major battle has been won by the Japanese and China appears to the Japanese people not as an enemy to be feared, but as a people to be pitied and patronized. It is therefore necessary to find some strong opponent which in the minds of the people can be personalized into a potential enemy presenting a major threat to the vital interests of the nation. Great Britain has been selected for this role. The recurrence of anti-British agitation clearly illustrates how the threat of an enemy from without may be used to unite the people of the nation supposedly threatened. Attacks on the part of the leaders of other states upon Hitler and Hitlerism admittedly have been of the utmost value in consolidating Hitler's position with his own people. At the time of the invasion of Manchuria by Japan the "interference" on the part of the United States by the enunciation of the so-called Stimson doctrine undoubtedly served to consolidate the people of Japan behind the policy of the military group. These are but a few illustrations of what has happened again and again in recent times.

In the case of two great revolutions which began as universals, threats from without de-

stroyed their universal aspects and served to nationalize the movement. The French revolution began as a universal. Liberty and equality were conceived of not as the property of the French people alone, but as universal rights which should be enjoyed by all peoples. It was only when the other nations of Europe sought to repel the baleful influences of these new and dangerous ideas and to suppress the revolution within France itself that the movement became nationalized. The same thing happened to the Russian revolution. What began in theory as a world movement, partly at least through pressures exerted from without, has been converted into purely a national movement, as nationalistic as the other nationalisms of Europe today.

Intra-state policies and actions are directly affected by extra-state situations. In fact, in view of the growing interdependence of nations already referred to, there are probably few matters which can be regarded as purely domestic in character. This is one of the reasons why the policies and actions of nations in international affairs so often run counter to the majority public opinion within a given state at the time. No serious difficulty is encountered, however, in winning a new majority support from

the people for the action thus taken when the threatening action of some other personalized nation-state or a general international situation has appeared to call for such support; a changed public opinion is easily secured for the action taken on the ground of personal honor, or self-defense, or any one of the numerous reasons which an outraged ego can conjure up. Since the relations between states are in the nature of the relation between highly sensitive, egoistic individuals, almost every action within a state is affected by the reaction of the state authority to extra-state stimuli.

The purpose of the state is understood to be to serve the well-being of the group constituting it.<sup>3</sup> This idea of well-being does not include humanity as a whole but only the group composing the state. This group regards itself as different, distinct and assuredly superior to any other group or groups. In fact, it is this sense of "otherness" that gives rise to the state to begin with, and on this is based the state's conduct of its affairs among other states. Now, if the group composing the state is unique and superior, it follows quite naturally that any group authority in a state must make sure that the

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<sup>3</sup> See Laski, Prof. Harold J., *A Grammar of Politics* for an illuminating discussion of the purpose of the state.

state is kept free from the dominance of any alien group. It must be secure from outside interference. The desire for security is a normal aspiration but in the nation-state it becomes associated with the idea that the particular group composing the state is quite unique and different from all other similar groups. These others are looked upon as having an inferior standard of conduct and to be, in any sense, under their control or compelled to accept their influence would seem to threaten the well-being of the group concerned. One cannot feel secure when he is in any sense subject to the dictation of one in whom he has no confidence. The idea of complete independence, the preservation of its own distinct way of life from any threat of any sort whatever, comes to be the primary aim of a state. Given the idea that not common humanity, but the particular group comprising any state is of superior worth, it becomes of supreme importance that the glory of this group be enhanced, and its preservation as a unique entity be made a first consideration. Consequently, a nation once formed is jealous above all else of freedom from dominance by any other group, either in the control of its domestic affairs or in the handling of its relations with other nations.



Thus there develops the idea of absolute national sovereignty. If the supremely important thing for a nation is the protection of its own life, that being for it the highest known value, it must be the final judge for itself of what is necessary for that protection. It must, therefore, have exclusive control over its own actions without regard to the concern of the people of any other state, much less of humanity as a whole. It is easy to see how this belief comes to be passionately insisted upon as an absolute when each nation is confronted with fifty or sixty others dedicated to the same idea. The elevation into an absolute dogma of this determination to exercise exclusive control of their own actions is the most striking feature of modern nation-states. The egoism of the individual which has been writ large in the state becomes an absolute. Freedom of action without external restraint of any character grows to be regarded as an inalienable right. Nations become exceedingly sensitive to any slightest suggestion of a modification of this freedom, because it is regarded as the very essence of national life. The basic idea of sovereignty is that somewhere there must be a definite, unlimited and indivisible power which is recognized by the citizens of the state and which they

must obey. If this power were subject to any limitation, either from within or from without, the state would cease to be sovereign for sovereignty would then belong to the power that limited it. Having abandoned the idea of a common humanity under the governance of God, a basis of authority had to be found elsewhere; and under the system of nation-states this basis has been located in the state. The doctrine of national sovereignty is, therefore, the natural outcome of the secularization which followed the Protestant Reformation. It is a substitute for universal sovereignty under God.

The United States is in no respect different from any other nation in its insistence upon the doctrine of absolute national sovereignty. The discussions in the United States Senate in connection with the debates on the League of Nations and the World Court amply illustrate this fact. One of the chief objections to both of these proposals was that participation on the part of the United States in either of these organizations would seriously curtail the absolute freedom of action of this country in matters affecting its own interest. It became abundantly clear in these discussions that it was considered of primary importance that the United States be left completely free to determine for itself,

without reference to any outside body whatsoever, what was for its own interest. The discussion of neutrality legislation also makes it quite clear that so far as the United States is concerned the primary consideration is where our own interests lie. These are to be determined by us and by us alone and without regard to any other interest whatsoever. A certain Senator writing in reply to representations made to him with regard to this legislation said, "the safety, protection and security of our own United States of America is, in the final analysis, our essential and only responsibility." This idea is at present basic in the idea of the state, namely, that each state possesses and should continue to possess, at all costs, an inalienable right to be the sole judge in its own cause. Each state must be free to decide for itself what is for its own best good, and even to delegate this right is seriously to impair its very existence as a state. There is no authority which is thought to possess the right to call to account any state for any action which it may take.

Now there is very little difference between the theory of the divine right of kings and the present day theory of the "divine" right of national sovereignty. Under the theory of the divine right of kings, the absolute right of the

king to make his own decisions without let or hindrance was predicated. Under the theory of national sovereignty this right has been transferred to the state. The state today has the "divine" right to make its own decisions without let or hindrance from any authority.<sup>4</sup>

This is equally true as applied within the boundaries of the state itself. It is the ultimate authority for its citizens. Its will must be obeyed absolutely. To be sure, under the democratic state, the will of the state is regarded as the expression of the will of the citizen at his best. It is his own "moral judgment" returning to him from the group authority, but whether or not this be recognized by the individual citizen, in every case the will of the state must be obeyed. This issue is made clear in such a decision as that of the Supreme Court in the Macintosh case.<sup>5</sup> The right of the individual citizen to set up his own judgment as to the rightness or wrongness of the state's action is denied, for this would make him sovereign rather than the

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<sup>4</sup> Shotwell, James T., *War as an Instrument of National Policy*, N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Company, page 14. Used by permission.

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Macintosh of Yale, a Canadian citizen, was refused naturalization by the United States Supreme Court because he reserved the right to follow his own conscience in the matter of participation in any war which might be entered upon by the United States Government.

state. The state must be absolute. Thus, as has been said, the germ of the "totalitarian state" is present in the state idea itself. Every state by virtue of its being a state is in the last analysis totalitarian.

The individual man in the modern state, is therefore, not of primary significance. He must give way to the group authority. This to a greater or lesser degree is a necessary element of all group life, but in the modern world these great national units tend to become totalitarian and thus to oppress rather than liberate the individual. In an increasingly interdependent world an insistence upon absolute independence requires an intensification of national controls if the pressures of interdependence are to be resisted. The remarks of Prof. Nicholas Berdyaev in *The Fate of Man in the Modern World* are so very pertinent at this point that several passages should be quoted.

"He (man) is submerged in high collectives, subject to non-human commandments. It is demanded of man that he give himself up without reserve, to society, the state, the race, the class, the nation."

"Man is made part of the objective world, and is no longer permitted to remain himself, to have his own inner being, to define from

within himself his own attitude toward the world and toward other people."

"Coming out of the war, there have appeared in the arena of history a series of human collectives, masses of men who have dropped out of the organized order and harmony of life, lost the religious sanctions for their lives, and now demand obligatory organization as the sole means of avoiding final chaos and degeneration."<sup>6</sup>

In these statements Professor Berdyaev is referring particularly to the definitely totalitarian states, but in essence the same thing can be said of all states as they are developing today. To refer again to the case of Professor Macintosh, why had not the question raised in this case been made an issue long before in American history? It might be explained by saying that the number of conscientious objectors to military service has so radically increased since the War that it has become a serious question for the state. This is undoubtedly one factor but the explanation is to be found rather in the general tendency for all governments to become more totalitarian, a tendency in which this

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<sup>6</sup> Berdyaev, Professor Nicholas, *The Fate of Man in the Modern World*, N. Y.: Morehouse-Gorham Company, Inc., pages 6, 7 and 10. Quoted by permission.

country has shared. If a state is to be adequately prepared to insist on what it considers to be its own interests in a world where fifty or sixty other states are organized on the same principle, it must exercise more and more control over the actions of its citizens in the interests of greater consolidation. These controls have been most evident in questions of economics. The resistance of nationalism to the fact of the growing interdependence of our world has developed in all our countries a type of economic nationalism which has required more detailed control on the part of the state itself. The conflict of these economic nationalisms has infinitely increased the danger of war. This has resulted in an increased sensitiveness on the part of the central authority even in democratic America with regard to its sovereign rights over its citizens. The Macintosh case revealed this sensitiveness. The decision in the case of Jehovah's Witnesses,<sup>7</sup> in their refusal to salute the flag, is of the same character, as are also the laws against aliens holding subversive ideas. If a state tends

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<sup>7</sup> Jehovah's Witnesses is a sect that regards the salute to the flag idolatrous. Believers therefore refuse to take part in the exercises in the public schools which call for the salute to the flag. A student in the school at Secaucus, N. J., was expelled in 1935 for this refusal. The parents appealed the case and the State Supreme Court upheld the expulsion.

to become more and more totalitarian as the threat of war becomes more real, when war actually comes, even in a democratic state, the process is carried to its logical conclusion. France today is under a virtual dictatorship. The communist party, which for a number of years had a recognized position in the French Republic, is today completely outlawed. The right of the citizen to freedom of opinion is submerged. Man becomes a "part of the objective world, and is no longer permitted to remain himself."

Clarence Streit in his book *Union Now*<sup>8</sup> makes the point that states, originally organized to protect individual liberties, are now threatening those very liberties themselves; so far from preserving them, they are usurping them. He, therefore, urges a union of the democracies based on the individual citizen of the several states in order that *essential liberties* may be preserved.

In its control of the life of the individual as well as in its relation with other states the state is not subject to ordinary ethical considerations. Consequently, the individual who represents the state is not judged by the same standards by which the individual in ordinary social relations is judged. This sub-ethical character of the

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<sup>8</sup> See a discussion of Mr. Streit's proposal on page 156.



state which permits it to act purely in its own self-interest results in anarchy in world affairs. In such a world, war, with diplomacy as an integral part of the war system, must be regarded as the norm. All group authorities tend to be above and beyond ethical considerations. The ethical implications of the idea of absolute sovereignty itself will need to be considered later. Here the fact which must be noted is that in practice the group authority of the state is not subject to the ordinary ethical considerations governing the relations of individuals. When a "body corporate" operates as a purely juristic person, it is deemed to be withdrawn from the influences of ordinary ethical considerations. Business corporations, as a matter of law, have no right to exercise material unselfishness. Their officers and directors are bound to take only such action as will advance the material interests of the shareholders. This means that to all intents and purposes such bodies are not subject to morality as commonly understood.<sup>9</sup> This is equally true of the group authority of the state. Since "the safety of the state is the highest law,"<sup>10</sup> it is the "duty" of the group

<sup>9</sup> Dulles, John Foster, *War, Peace and Change*, N. Y.: Harper & Brothers Publishers, page 23. Used by permission.

<sup>10</sup> Lord Bryce in *International Relations* gives this as a saying of the Romans.

authority to make the self-interest of the state supreme no matter how this may affect other states or peoples. What, in an individual, would be a selfish act to be condemned by even the most ordinary of ethical standards is not to be condemned when carried out on behalf of a state. An individual may not commit a wrong without ethical censure, but when the rulers of a state do on behalf of the state what, in ordinary social relationships, would be clearly unethical, they are to be praised for doing their duty.<sup>11</sup>

It is essential for us to remember, therefore, that when a responsible statesman is acting on behalf of his state in an interstate relationship it makes little difference whether he be a pagan or an agnostic or a Christian (except perhaps in the pangs of conscience he may suffer). Lord Bryce quotes a conversation with Mr. Gladstone which is most illuminating at this point:

"Statesmen, he observed, may safely assume that they have a mandate from the people to

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<sup>11</sup> " . . . there were plenty of instances even before 1914 to show that States do not hesitate to follow their own interests without regard to the harm they cause to others who have done them no wrong, and that they do not scruple to practice against one another deceits which no self-respecting man of business would practice against a rival in trade." James Bryce in *International Relations*, N. Y.: The Macmillan Company, page 189. Quoted by permission.

take any action which would promote the people's interest and may also assume that the people will not expect them to do any wrongful act. But they may feel doubts as to making concessions to other States which a broad-minded man might make if only his own interests were concerned. 'I may do,' he said, 'as a private man acts which motives of generosity and liberality suggest and yet not be entitled to do similar acts as a Minister at the expense of the nation because I am not sure that I am within the authority which the citizens have given me. . . .'<sup>12</sup>

There is an interesting confirmation of this from the actual experience of an administrator. Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson in *The International Anarchy* quotes Mr. Shuster as saying in *The Strangling of Persia* "one must at times separate a gentleman and diplomat from his official acts performed under orders from his home Government, otherwise great confusion and injustice would accrue. Governments have a little way of telling those who represent them abroad, and especially in the Orient, to get such-and-such a thing done, and done it must be. Nor would those high Government officials at home care often to hear the painful details of the suc-

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<sup>12</sup> Bryce, James, *International Relations*, N. Y.: The Macmillan Company, page 203. Quoted by permission.

cessful execution of many such orders which are given." <sup>13</sup>

In *Man and the State* Prof. William E. Hocking discusses the relation of the individual to state action and its sub-ethical character. ". . . when we consider the governors as the authors of state-action we cannot identify the state-agent with their persons. . . . The streams of business that flow through public offices have their own momentum, guided by an impersonal system of state which the individual administrator may be powerless to alter."

"The state as agent is therefore not to be identified with their persons but with the official characters which they temporarily assume, and these official characters emerge from a common background of tradition, the accumulated result of the history-making generalizations which bears upon them as if it were an over-individual being. *It* acts through them; they are bound to make themselves *its* carriers and representatives; and this more ultimate agent is the state."

"Organization is in its nature impersonal; it can deal only in the common denominators of personality, the abstract elements of will. . . ."

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<sup>13</sup> Dickinson, G. Lowes, *The International Anarchy 1904-1914*, N. Y.: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., page 26. Quoted by permission.

"In this impersonality, the moral quality is diluted and tends to disappear in the statistics of a mythical general welfare. The human friend and the human opponent have vanished into general tendencies; and in the name of their states men fight enemies whom no one hates, supporting friends whom no one loves, committing crimes which burden no one's conscience because they seem to fall in the world of ghostly political entities, not in the world of human life. . . . Nationality thus becomes, in the impassioned words of Tagore, 'one of the most powerful anaesthetics that man has invented.' " <sup>14</sup>

The state is responsible to no authority but its own and is governed in its actions not by what is right or what is best for humanity as a whole but what it considers to be expedient in the immediate situation. Consequently, not only is it not subject to ethical considerations in its international aspects but in its internal life as well its acts are not governed by ordinary morality. The Supreme Court in deciding upon the action of the United States government in repudiating its gold obligations said that the

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<sup>14</sup> Hocking, Prof. William E., *Man and the State*, New Haven: Yale University Press, pages 39, 41 and 100. Quoted by permission.

action was immoral but not illegal because the state was sovereign and not subject to any law above its will. The consequence of this, as the state becomes more and more totalitarian, is disastrous in undermining the ethical basis of the life of its citizens. Professor Laski in *Problems of Peace*, points out "that there should be in any community a power that demands the allegiance of men upon any other consideration except equity is a contradiction of all that is worth most in the ethical precepts of two thousand years."<sup>15</sup>

Now anarchy in international affairs must be taken as a matter of course in a world divided into a series of absolutes. When each group is determined to be the judge in its own cause, that judgment to be based on what is expedient for its own national interest irrespective of what is right or what is best for humanity as a whole, orderly procedure is impossible and chaos in the international world is to be expected. It must also be recognized that in this kind of a world, war is as essential a part of the system as national government itself, for how is a state to secure what it considers to be its rights when

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<sup>15</sup> Laski, Prof. Harold J., in *Problems of Peace*, 1926 edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, page 293. Quoted by permission.

these rights conflict with the equally sacred rights of another state unless an appeal to force is available?

There is, of course, the method of diplomatic negotiation. Diplomacy is designed to secure the aims of a state without resort to war. But diplomacy is based on prestige, which in turn is based on power. The threat of the war power is always, therefore, implicit in diplomatic exchanges and when diplomacy has failed to secure the desired end the only solution is war.<sup>16</sup> Thus the real meaning of preparedness as a means to peace is that back of all diplomacy is force or the threat of force. A nation that is prepared for war can hope to force its demands by diplomatic means against a nation less prepared, for of course, a nation does not care to risk war unless there is some likelihood of success.

Diplomacy has much to say about prestige. The question of just what is meant by prestige is an interesting one. It would appear from history that it has always been associated with power. Every dispute between nations, whether trivial or important, is dangerous because it immediately becomes a question of prestige, which

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<sup>16</sup> The *Herald Tribune* for July 17, 1939, quotes a Japanese general who refers quite frankly to the controversy with Great Britain with regard to Tientsin as the "present diplomatic war."

will be seriously damaged if weakness is displayed. Consequently, in future negotiations the nation whose prestige is impaired finds it difficult to secure its national objective. While the reputation for just and consistent action built up through the years undoubtedly plays a part in prestige, in the last analysis it is fear in others that produces it, and it is power that produces fear. So, then, it would appear that diplomacy which deals in matters of prestige rests finally upon force and the threat of force. Consequently, when diplomacy fails, what has previously been implicit is brought out into the open and war takes place.

It is interesting as an example to trace the growth in the prestige of Japan, a nation lately come into the circle of modern nation states. Her leaders early saw that in the modern world a nation's prestige depended not so much upon the character of her relations with other nations, as upon military power. She early set about building up military strength, and her acceptance into the councils of the great powers was directly due to her prowess in the first China war and the Russo-Japanese war. There are many who feel that perhaps she has learned this lesson too well, but it is none the less the fact that prestige among nations is directly con-



nected with the war power which each possesses. Thus, even in diplomacy, force or the threat of force is basic, and it becomes all the more clear that war is an essential concomitant of the anarchy created by the absolute sovereignty of the modern nation-state.

All the great powers of the world act on the assumption that wars are sooner or later inevitable. This assumption is so certain that it is never questioned and rarely mentioned. War is looked upon as the legitimate and indispensable instrument of national policy.

The point that needs to be stressed here is that war is not made an instrument of national policy wilfully by certain irresponsible rulers, but they hold that, lacking any other method of securing adjustments between nations in the interests of what appears to them to be essential justice, force must be resorted to. Nations can not honestly renounce the use of force as an instrument of national policy under the present anarchy of absolute national sovereignty since it is an essential part of the whole system or lack of system. The report of the Commission on the Universal Church and the World of Nations of the Oxford Conference makes this situation perfectly clear in the following paragraph:

"The fact that no superior political agency

exists to impose from time to time a new order in international affairs to conform to changing needs means not that the existing order will remain but that change can occur in only one of two ways: by voluntary action, or by force or the menace of force."

It is of course true that in practice wars are waged not in the interest of abstract justice, but for what appears to the nations involved to be for their best interests. War is entered upon to settle a dispute *in the way* which the nation wants it settled. It is a case of two individuals wanting to settle a dispute, each in the way which he wishes it settled. In the situation which developed into the war in Europe, Germany insisted that the dispute be settled on the basis of the control of Poland. England insisted, on the other hand, that there could be no discussion of the problem so long as Germany was in Poland. Each country was determined to settle the dispute in its own way. When a war breaks out the one thing which is quite certain is that "both sides have preferred to fight rather than not to have their own way."<sup>17</sup>

The history of international affairs is, there-

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<sup>17</sup> Brierly, Professor J. L., *Problems of Peace*, Third Series, Oxford: Oxford University Press, page 293. Quoted by permission.

fore, that of a movement from one crisis to another and from one war to another. Each war brings its "settlement." This is looked upon as final and, as in the case of the Great War, it is the "once for all settlement" we are all hoping for, since the war was a war to end war. Settlements following wars, however, are arrived at under the psychological limitations of the extreme enmity produced by the conflict. Furthermore, in the case of one party at least it is agreed to under duress. It is certain to abound in injustices and to contain within it the unstable equilibriums that produce the next conflict. In fact it is idle to expect that there can ever be a "once for all" settlement even though it were arrived at under the most ideal conditions. For human society is a living, growing and changing thing. In the nature of the case it cannot remain stable. The present management of international affairs by attempting to settle crises as and when they arise by what might be called the "catastrophic method"<sup>18</sup> ignores this patent fact in human affairs. What is needed is a way of adjusting ever changing conditions in a peaceful and orderly manner.

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<sup>18</sup> See Mr. Norman Angell in *Foreign Affairs* for May 1930. Mr. Angell makes the further important point that "it is dangerous to cling to the delusion that there can be finality in one particular class of social arrangements, the international."

We find the world today then divided into a large number of independent nation-states whose sanctions are purely secular in character. These states confront one another as personalized group authorities. The state as it has developed has elevated egoism into a kind of sacred dogma, and jealously insists upon being the sole judge in its own cause as an inalienable and absolute right of national sovereignty. It has become the final authority for its citizens and, in refusing to accept the implications of a rapidly developing interdependent world neighborhood, has been driven to become a closer and more compact unit, armed to the teeth, exerting broader and broader controls over the life and activities of its citizens. It thus tends to usurp the very liberties it was designed to secure to the citizen as an indispensable element of the good life. The result in the field of international relations is anarchy in which changes, that in the nature of the case must take place, can only occur by the use of force or the threat of force. This leads to constantly recurring crises developing into wars followed by settlements which are looked upon as final but which on the contrary contain the seeds of further conflicts. This is the actual world order of our time.

Now when we consider the ideas implicit in

this world order the result is almost startling to those of us who are committed to Christian ideas. The thought of a universal authority from outside the human frame work has been given up for an authority which is purely secular. Furthermore this authority is not even broadly based on humanity as a whole but is segmented into racial and national group authorities. Consideration of the good of humanity is abandoned for the good of a single group. Unselfish consideration of others gives place to a "sacred egoism." Again, the individual man is lost in the collective and is made a part of the objective world to be manipulated on behalf of the corporate group which is the nation-state. The equality of man before God is supplanted by the inalienable right of the "superior" group composing the particular nation concerned to primary consideration. These ideas are so primitive and so subversive of the sound thinking of centuries that this whole picture would seem like a caricature, if the actual situation did not compel us to a realization that, like it or not, these are the ideas which actually determine the policies of nations in the world today.

### III

#### WHAT DOES CHRISTIANITY SAY?

WHAT is the Christian world view which must be set over against the actual view of the world that is being put in practice in our time? Now the basic fact which Christianity gives us about the world is that there is a frame of reference which is outside and beyond the merely natural or human; that there is a divine or sacred as distinguished from the merely secular. It is not necessary for our immediate purpose to discuss at this point the relationship between the divine and the human; whether it is wholly other and entirely disconnected from the human; whether the one may merge into the other as by a natural gradation or as the result of a "crisis" in the human. The thing that is vitally important is that there is a point of reference beyond the human. The Christian starts with a belief in God. It is God who created the universe, and He has fashioned the laws governing it. He is the fixed point from which all reckoning in human affairs must be taken. What the Christian thinks about the world is not to be regarded

as a "discovery" by man but as a revelation to him; it is "given" and is not the result of man's own search. It is not the creature who fashions God but God who fashioned His creation. The whole process is to be viewed as a movement from God to man, in response to which man makes his search. Christian faith is, therefore, not a relative but an absolute. It is not a part of the ever shifting circumstances of human history. It is rather the surrounding framework within which human life must be lived. "In Him we live and move and have our being." "The origin and the aim of all historical events only become intelligible when they are seen in the light of another dimension, which is given to us in the revelation of the Word of God."<sup>1</sup> It is this other "dimension" in Christianity that saves the truth about the world from becoming a relative thing which may be conditioned to the human scene at any one time or made to suit the supposed need of any one group.

Furthermore, this revelation is not to be thought of as an arbitrary fiat but as the final truth and inner meaning of the universe and life, which man may defy, but at his own peril.

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<sup>1</sup> Huber, Max, *The Universal Church and the World of Nations*, Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, page 97. Quoted by permission.

It is a revelation of the way the world hangs together which is as true as any truth that is known. You may try to conduct electricity, for example, by means of a finely spun glass wire, if you choose, but you will not get the result you wish because electricity simply will not be conducted that way. You may set up all sorts of social mechanics which are equally contrary to the ultimate truth that has been revealed about human relations, but they will result in futility or disaster because the truth simply does not lie there. Humanity will have to accept these ultimate laws or perish. Carlyle said when it was reported to him that his friend had decided to accept the universe, "By gad, she'd better." The truth about the world has to be reckoned with, for it is final and if it is defied, it is ruthless in its operation. The ethical monotheism of Christianity carries with it the belief that history is grounded in the moral will of God and is controlled by it. If this be true it follows that disobedience must result inevitably in punishment. The moral will that lies at the heart of the universe cannot be defied with impunity.

Now the fact of God as understood in Christianity and the associated fact that God has revealed Himself to man are perhaps the most



significant data with which the modern world has to deal, for it is of the utmost importance that the faith, that history is under the governance of God, be recovered. The modern world critically needs again to "be still, and know that I am God." If this be not so then history has no meaning. It is "just a succession of events, without a purpose and without a goal—a cycle of endlessly revolving escalators, raising one culture to the surface as it sweeps another down into the depths." <sup>2</sup> Without faith in God man has no recourse but to turn back upon himself. This he has done and the virus which is slowly sapping the life of modern society is the belief that man is the ruler of nature, that he can fathom its mystery and mould the world to his own will. This has made him a "slave to his own nature" and he is discovering that it is impossible to surmount the chaos created by his own passions and his own egoism.

For when man turns away from God and in upon himself his entire fate and destiny are bound up in the framework of his own society and his own time. He still is relatively of more value than the sparrows but the quality of that value is the same for him as for the rest of

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<sup>2</sup> Barry, F. R., *What Has Christianity to Say*, N. Y.: Harper & Brothers Publishers, page 58. Quoted by permission.

nature. He, too, like the sparrow has his brief day "as a tale that is told" and that is all. In the Christian view of man, on the other hand, he is a being of eternal destiny. He is convinced that the inner life of feeling, thought and will is not a mere accidental phenomenon which will disappear with his life. He feels that he is allied in some way with the highest and shares not only in its greatness but in its eternal character. Once man grasps this faith he feels that he is at home in the universe and that his spiritual life has eternal value and significance.

This gives a new meaning and a new value to man's relationship to the natural forces about him. Under this faith man does not pass out of the picture. Every energy he possesses must be bent to the task of the mastery of nature and to the discovery of all that is inherent in the life of society. But the vital difference is that in all this he is to find what the will of God is for the world, and he is to recognize that he, himself, his will and his purposes must be brought into harmony with the ultimate fact of God. He must be brought to realize that the final issues are with God and with God alone. "It is not for you to know the times or seasons which the Father has put in his own power."<sup>3</sup> Under this

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<sup>3</sup> The Acts: 1:7.

faith man, in attempting the mastery of physical nature and the moulding of a suitable human society, is not undertaking the task that life may be comfortable and harmonious for its own sake but in order that man's eternal destiny may be realized. Man ceases to be a slave to his own passions. He is lifted to a higher level, that of cooperation with God, and the whole human scene, which can become sordid enough if man is only man, takes on eternal significance.

There are plenty of signs to indicate that man's faith in himself is bringing its own disillusionment but it cannot be said that this has yet given place to vital Christian faith. The supreme task of the Church today is first of all to recover its singleness of devotion to this faith in God and then to proclaim it to a lost world, for on the acceptance of this faith as a working principle of human society hangs the fate of modern civilization. For "though the mills of the gods grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small."

The moral law, therefore, has its roots in God who is the Creator and Ruler of the universe. It is His essential being, which lies at the heart of the world of nature and of human life, which has been disclosed in the Christian revelation. The original theocratic ideal should never be

forgotten. The fact remains that God is the only Ruler who has real power. The administration of law and the preservation of peace can come only through the acknowledgment of the reign of God. The real basis for authority, not only in so-called spiritual matters but also in anything that affects human life, is God.

It follows from this that the Christian world view must be universal, true for all races and for all men. It cannot be divided nor particularized. It is applicable everywhere and at all times. To use again the illustration of electricity, there is no adequate reason for saying that the laws that govern the operation of electricity run true at any place or time on the whole planet, but that the laws of human organization should be relative in nature; that what is true for one race or nation may not be true for another. Moral law is no more divisible than is physical law. The universe must be one. "Christ is the center of history; this principle affirms further that Christ's claim is a *universal one*, a claim upon all times, peoples, races and cultures." <sup>4</sup>

Before this moral law of God, all men stand in a relationship of equality. The idea of the

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<sup>4</sup> Wendland, H. D., in *The Kingdom of God and History*, Willet, Clark & Company, page 150. Quoted by permission.

divine or superior race is not compatible with the Christian revelation. God may use a race or nation in a special way to accomplish His purpose in history, but this is a division in function and not in essential character. In the Christian view of the world, man is essential humanity to which the element of race attaches as an incident. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free . . . for ye are all one in Christ."<sup>5</sup> To elevate a race into the primary position is to deny the universality of the moral law.

The relationship of men is that of individuals whose common father is God, viz.—that of brotherhood. Even those who view Christianity merely as an ethic whose validity springs from within the human frame work regard this element in the Christian faith as fundamental. In this relationship of brotherhood the cement that binds man together is love. The new commandment of the Christian revelation is that "ye love one another." The essence of love is mutuality, the regarding of the interests of one's fellows as of equal value with one's own. The pursuit of self-interest to the hurt of the well-being of others is therefore unthinkable. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy

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<sup>5</sup> Col. 3:28.

heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. . . . Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.”<sup>6</sup>

The thing that emerges from this idea of brotherhood is that of community. The Christian Church is committed to the belief that the life of man finds its meaning and highest fulfillment in a community of persons. God has revealed Himself to us in a Person. Christ's advent is to be understood as the outreach of infinite Love seeking fellowship with His creatures. Without the idea of a community of free persons Christianity would be emasculated of its great central fact. While the individual is of supreme importance in Christian thinking the individual's highest worth is to be found in community. If love is the law of life as revealed in Christ, mutuality in community is the way that law must express itself in human life.

The individual cannot live his life in isolation. In fact the idea of individual isolation is an abstraction. It is only as man recognizes himself as in organic relationship to his fellows that life becomes meaningful. This truth is recognized and used to the maximum in the solidarity of the modern totalitarian state. It is quite clear that for millions of “disillusioned,

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<sup>6</sup> Matt. 22:37-40.

aimless and frustrated" people, in Germany, Italy, and to a certain extent in Japan, life is lifted into something thrilling and meaningful as the organic relationship of the individual to the national group has been enhanced. The untruth in these systems is in their denial of the universal, in their elevation of the secular state into a divine absolute and in their emphatic refusal to recognize the equality of humanity. The sense of community in these systems stops at the national boundary. They are prostituting the psychological demand of man for his realization of the fullest life in community in the interest of the false gods of blood and soil. True community can only spring from a sense of the sonship of all men in a common Father.

There is another element in true community in the Christian sense that is not found in totalitarian solidarity. True community in the Christian sense can only exist between persons. While it is true that the life of the individual finds its true meaning in community, that community must be based on the individual, who is of infinite worth in his own right. If there is one thing that is clear in the Gospel, it is this absolute value of the individual life. The inner personality of the individual is of more value than the whole world. What shall it profit a

man if he gain the world and lose this? This value springs not from the group or from society, but from the individual's own relationship to God, the Creator. It is for the saving of the individual that Christ died. The restoration of fellowship between the *one* who was lost and the Father was of the utmost importance to Jesus. Again to quote Prof. Berdyaev, "The so-called subjective rights of man do not arise from society. Freedom of the spirit does not depend on any kind of social organization. Liberty is a limitation of the authority of society over personality, the power of the State over man."<sup>7</sup>

The value of individual personality, which demands for him freedom and the right to be himself and not another, is not a contradiction of the value of true community; it is its indispensable requirement. For true value is found in community only as the individual who has accepted the high privileges of sonship, of his own free choice, reaches out for fellowship with other free persons like himself, other sons of the common Father. There is an element of spontaneity in true Christian communion that is

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<sup>7</sup> Berdyaev, Prof. Nicholas, *The Fate of Man in the Modern World*, N. Y.: Morehouse-Gorham Company, Inc., page 40. Quoted by permission.



almost entirely lost in the artificially created solidarity of the totalitarian states.

The temper in human relations which flows from this sense of community is one of cooperation rather than one of the selfish pursuit of one's own interests. It not only develops the spirit of cooperation itself, but it provides the necessary attitudes that make cooperation possible, such as mutual respect, consideration for the interests of others and the like. Cooperation of masses of men may be secured through manipulation by some individual or group in control of the public authority. Even in these cases, however, it is recognized that it is important that the will of the individual be bent to the common enterprise, and by the use of the press and radio and through mass pageantry, the group is welded together for one great, common purpose. But the element of manipulation is so evidently present in such cooperation, that it cannot be looked upon as permanently satisfactory. This cooperation is not the cooperation of free persons, who have of their own will come to a common purpose and enlisted in a common task. The purpose and the task were first determined upon in the mind of one man or one group, and the masses of men have been made the slaves of this one will and this

one purpose. Now to the Christian this whole process is utterly repugnant. The Christian works in cooperation with his fellows for common ends which are found to have their ground in the ultimate will that is back of all history. He submits to this not as a slave but as a man for whom Christ died and who finds his greatest freedom in cooperation with the living Heavenly Father whose child he is. He cooperates with his fellows in endeavoring to carry out this will because he recognizes in them brothers, sons of the common Father, association with whom in this high task of the ages, is his deepest pleasure and joy.

Humanity in the Christian view is a kind of organism which is permeated by the life of God as every member responds and yields to the appeal of the Divine law. For the individual it involves a recognition of his own true worth in relationship to God and the Divine society; for society it involves the existence of a personal relationship between its members and the subordination of each to the service of the whole. The Christian's relationship to his fellows is not legal or local in character but it springs from his birthright as a child of God.

One very important aspect of the Christian world view as it affects the individual is the de-

velopment of a sense of responsibility, a sensitiveness to one's duty not alone for himself in his own self-realization, but for humanity in the whole process of its development. Since history is not a blind process, a meaningless succession of the rise and collapse of civilizations and cultures, but the upward reach of man in a long process of growth, what the individual does in his time is of infinite importance to the whole of history. He does not think of himself alone, or of his own group to the exclusion of others. He must take into his own life the life of the whole human family. Their fate is his and their destiny is his. Not what is merely expedient or convenient for him but what is ultimately demanded from him by the Universal Will becomes for him the "catagorical imperative" of his life. It follows from this that Christianity must be regarded as universal and universally true for all men. The world expansion of Christianity is not a casual by-product of this faith, participated in by those whose humanitarian instincts have been stirred, but it is the very heart and center of the Christian faith itself. To particularize the Christian faith and make it the faith of one nation or one group is to deprive it of its foundation stone. It must then find its ground in something less than the

universal and it becomes little different from the secularism of our day. In fact it may even be said that the apparent decline in interest in world-wide Christianity is an indication of the invasion of particularistic secularism into the Church itself. Jesus cannot be nationalized and any attempt to do so either overtly or by indirection will leave Christianity but a desiccated shell of the faith that was once and for all given to the saints. The revival in our day of the concept of the universal church, the church that is truly ecumenical, is a hopeful sign, but the universal church is a symbol only, emptied of its real significance, unless there burns within each part of that church the passion that brought an ecumenical church into being. The Church does not spring up of itself. It must be planted and it must be nurtured by those who hold the basic faith that Christ cannot be nationalized and that all men are potentially His.

But this universality of Christianity must not be confused with cosmopolitanism. Just as the individual is of the utmost importance so the nation and the race are not without significance. The word ecumenical for all its awkwardness expresses a profound truth about Christianity. It "refers to the expression in history of the

given unity of the church." It emphasizes the "fact of unity in Christ." It proceeds outward from a common center, viz.—Christ. But unity and identity are not the same things. It is a unity in diversity, each individual, each race and each nation making its own unique contribution. "The Christian is called upon to accept and rejoice in the fact that God has chosen to set men in various races, peoples and nations, with different manners and styles of life. The fact that each nation seems to have its distinctive contribution and mission to the world is to be ascribed to God's purpose. The ties of common blood, soil, tradition, culture and purpose which constitute the national community are by nature enormously strong. They are given of God who creates the individual life in and through the life of a specific community." <sup>8</sup>

National communities as such are not to be regarded as in opposition to the law of universal brotherhood. These communities exist just as individuals exist. They must be regarded as much a part of God's creation as individuals. It is when the national community sets itself up as an absolute, alone worthy of preservation,

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<sup>8</sup> Oldham, J. H., *The Oxford Conference*, Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, page 209. Quoted by permission.

that it becomes a perversion of the Christian ideal. The idea of the sacredness of one's own national community should carry with it the idea of the equal sacredness of other communities which have also been divinely created. The commandment to love one's neighbor as oneself applies to national communities as well as to individuals. In the idea of ecumenical Christianity the common center of all life is found to be in Christ, and in the fellowship that gathers around Him all races and nations have their place.<sup>9</sup>

This fact, that the universality of Christianity does not call for the complete obliteration of national differences, is most often misunderstood, especially in those countries where racial or national consciousness is particularly strong. It is true that there are Christian ideas which are basic and these fundamental attitudes and aspects of the faith must be common to Christians in all nations. But it is also true that each racial heritage brings its own fresh interpretation of the common body of truth and makes its own unique application of this truth to its own life. Christianity has been long enough in Japan and China and India for this to be clearly

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<sup>9</sup> There is an interesting discussion of this point by Professor H. Richard Niebuhr in *The Church Faces the World*.

understood by Christians. At the Madras Conference, for example, this was evident, and representatives of western Christianity attending that conference have testified to the fresh approach of the oriental to Christian truth. There is nothing in the Christian faith that would call for a levelling of human life into one vast cosmopolitan culture. The many varied "experiments in living," as Professor Hocking calls the various national groupings, in the Christian view, are divinely intended and must be carried over and enriched through a common Christian faith. ". . . Christianity is not certainly cosmopolitanism, which is a unification of being, a denial of the individual degrees of being and the confirmation of abstract, in the place of concrete unity. Cosmopolitanism is general rather than universal. . . . Christianity is ecumenism and concrete unity, taking into itself all transformed and enlightened individual being." <sup>10</sup>

Christianity is a religion of redemption. Its supreme significance is to be found in the cross of Christ. This is at once a fact of the utmost meaning to the individual and at the same time

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<sup>10</sup> Berdyaev, Nicholas, *The Fate of Man in the Modern World*, N. Y.: Morehouse-Gorham Company, Inc., page 79. Quoted by permission.

a principle of cosmic significance. For the individual it means new life. In it he sees God reaching down to lift man out of himself and make of him a new creature with new motives and new attitudes. What man, a slave to his own nature, cannot do, God has done for him in the cross of Christ. Self-will gives place to love. Old loyalties are left behind and a new loyalty takes their place. The man or woman who comes under the shadow of the cross can never be the same again. He becomes the "slave" of Christ to do His bidding. Thenceforth it becomes his deepest pleasure to follow Christ wherever he leads. He seeks with deep earnestness to have the "mind of Christ" and as he grows in his fellowship with Him, he no longer can live unto himself alone. He finds his greatest joy not in gaining but in giving.

It is the cross, as a fact in history, that permits us to hope at a time like this, when the self-will and the passions of men are driving the modern world from one tragedy to another involving the very fate of civilization itself. For it gives us the knowledge, reinforced by experience, that human nature *can* be changed. We are not shut up to the belief that human society is condemned to a process of self-destruction through its own blind egoism. We dare to



hope for a day when new attitudes shall be born and a new world created.

But, the cross is also a cosmic principle. It reveals that the law of life for society as well as for the individual is self-giving not self-seeking. It introduces into human history the redemptive principle. This is central even in the life of nature. "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit."<sup>11</sup> It follows through in human life. "For whosoever will save his life shall lose it."<sup>12</sup> The highest self-interest is to be found in the abandonment of self-interest. In self-giving is life, in self-seeking is "the wages of sin," which is death. Now this is an ultimate law of life that operates inexorably in social and national as well as individual life. Consequently while the cross is the hope of the individual and of society it is also their despair. For, as in the case of other universal laws, the "law" of the cross is beneficent when it is complied with, but lack of conformity brings with it its own disastrous consequence.

The cross of Christ, therefore, calls both the individual and society to repentance. "This new order embodied in Christ confronts both

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<sup>11</sup> Matt. 16:25.

<sup>12</sup> John 12:24.

the individual and the collective will with a peremptory demand: Repent. This crisis-demand would mean that both the individual and the collective will must shift its center from self to God. This would result in nothing less than a new birth for the individual and for society. For the new birth is that change, sudden or gradual, by which we pass from the kingdom of self to the Kingdom of God through the grace and power of Christ."<sup>13</sup>

In the Christian view, therefore, God has revealed to man the inner meaning of life, a spiritual law which may be defied but which works as inexorably as any of the laws of the physical universe. Man can realize his destiny only as he discovers this moral law, grounded in the will of God, and builds his organizations in harmony with it. History is not a blind process, a succession of meaningless changes, but the revelation of God's infinite purposes. This spiritual law is universal for all and before it all men stand on a basis of equality. Its inmost principle is brotherhood. It calls for man's fullest realization in a community of free persons, whose temper is that of cooperation for the good of all. This community is based on

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<sup>13</sup> *The World Mission of the Church*, Madras Conference Report, page 108.

the value and dignity of the individual who finds his highest satisfaction in fellowship with other free persons for whom Christ died. The individual therefore feels a deep sense of responsibility not only for himself but for all mankind. Christianity is universal and cannot be particularized by any nation. It is missionary and the Christian community is an ecumenical community including in its fellowship all nations and all races. In the unity of Christ all varieties of individuals and races come to their fullest realization. Not cosmopolitanism but unity in diversity is the Christian ideal. In the cross there is the hope at once of individual redemption and at the same time a cosmic principle of self-giving that the fullest life may be realized.

It is clear that this world view is radically different from the current world view in actual operation in the world of nations today. In the next chapter we will need to consider the implications of this fact for world order.

#### IV

### A CHANGED POLITICAL WORLD ORDER

IF THE Christian world view is to be regarded as an absolute to which human organization must be made to conform if it is not to end in futility or tragic disaster, then nothing could be more fantastic than our present world organization. Where the one is grounded in the universal, the other is based on the particular; where the one finds its absolute in the God of history, the other makes the nation or the race its absolute; in the one, man as humanity, stands in a relationship of equality to the universal Will that is arbiter of all destiny; in the other, one group is elevated into a position of superiority and made the final criterion of judgment; in the one, self-giving is found to be the law of life; in the other, self-seeking is elevated into a divine right.

The question arises, however, whether we have a right to hope for a Christian world order? Is the Christian world view that is contained in the Gospel designed for this world or for a Kingdom that is not of this world? If human

organization is to be regarded as intransigent, eternally condemned to the control of forces that are not amenable to Christian principles, then it is, of course, quite futile to go further in considering the application of the Christian world view to human world organization. In some ways it would be comforting to believe this, because the task of bringing a system so diametrically opposed to Christianity into harmony with it is a task so difficult that, viewed realistically, seems impossible of realization. The task of the Christian would then become that of flight from a burning city to a city "without foundations," for the persistent following of the fantastic faith upon which modern world organization is grounded can only mean progression from one tragic disaster to another, the end of which process is too terrible to contemplate. But Christianity must be regarded as the revelation of the ultimate spiritual law to which human organization must conform as the price of the survival of any worthy human organization. That is not to say that this can be accomplished merely on the basis of humanistic progress. There are forces to be reckoned with which are daemonic in character. But God has come into human life in Christ and the redemption of the individual, and through him the re-

demption of the social organizations which he creates, is not only not impossible but is to be regarded as the very aim and purpose of God's gracious act in Christ. The Christian, therefore, not only has a right to hope for the establishment of a Christian world order, but he is bound to enunciate that such a world view exists and to work for its application in human organization.

While this is the carefully considered view of such representative gatherings as the Oxford and Madras conferences it must be said that practically it is the view of too few members of the Christian Church. The comparative ineffectiveness of Christianity in averting the catastrophe which modern civilization confronts in its world organization is to be laid at the door of Christian Churches that have produced countless individual Christians who think, and in a measure act, individually as Christians but who are thorough-going pagans in their social and international thinking. Saving the individual, it has been assumed, will, as by a natural process, save society nationally and internationally whereas, as a matter of fact, individual salvation remains "individual" and has little effect until the implications of the Christian faith for social or economic or international life are made as

clear as are the implications for individual life. Up to the present, too little distinction has been made in Christian thinking between the individual and the group. What needs to be recognized is that the group is not merely the sum of the individuals composing it, but possesses a character all its own. In a sense, it is another and quite distinct "individual." This requires a radical readjustment in our thinking and the problem which it presents is a very baffling one. If the group is something distinct from the sum of the individuals composing it, then in addition to the Christianizing of the individual specific efforts must also be made for the Christianization of the group itself. The most immediately practical step is to make the individual Christian aware of this fact and help to build in the mind of the Christian individual an understanding of the implications of Christianity for group life.

Of what importance is organization? Does a Christian world order need to concern itself with political organization? Too little consideration is given to this important point. We have been content to set forth the claims of Christianity for individual or corporate life and let the matter rest there. What we need to have clearly in mind is that there are distinct

limitations to the purely ethical or religious in community life, for in a community of persons wholly animated by Christian motives some sort of organization would still be required. Even for the most thoughtful and courteous of drivers, for example, rules of the road which are understood by all drivers are required. Without them every important crossing would be speedily jammed, for the best of motives in the world will not result in the unity of action required for the smooth progress of traffic. Life in society can function only through some sort of social or political framework. As Professor Hocking has pointed out, "It is physically easier for men to live together than to live apart. It is morally easier for them to live apart than to maintain permanently a successful partnership or friendship . . . so that association by impulse becomes by degrees association on stated grounds and in stated terms."<sup>1</sup> Through the statement of these terms of association political organization comes into being. Through such organization life in relationship becomes easier and functions more smoothly. Organization becomes essential to the orderly working of the community. Until the life forces involved in

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<sup>1</sup>Hocking, William E., *Man and the State*, New Haven: Yale University Press, pages 4 and 12. Quoted by permission.



any set of relationships are furnished with a framework within which to function there is constant friction and loss of energy which should be devoted to the business of living. As Dr. John R. Mott has said in defining organization, "it is the means of distributing force most advantageously." Political organization is the advantageous balancing of the forces of life in a community so that order may be maintained and life may function with a minimum of friction. In any modern community today life is totally dependent on organization. Indeed, organization is so closely wedded to life that it is almost impossible to think of life apart from such organization.

It is obvious, therefore, that if life in society is dependent on organization, organization becomes very important for life. It should be equally obvious that the kind of organization therefore becomes a matter of great moment. Not only must the organization be technically adequate, but it must be animated by sound ideas. If the ideas which lie behind a given political framework are unworthy ideas, its effect upon life will be disastrous. If they are in opposition to the truth about the underlying spiritual laws of life, the social effects produced by the resulting political framework will bear

heavily upon the people who are involved in it. Even on the basis of pure pragmatism these ideas will require examination and the resulting organization will need to be reconsidered. *An organization based on unethical ideas will not work well in a moral universe.* Organization channels life and improper organization deflects life from its true course making it difficult or impossible to live in accordance with Christian ideals. Consequently, apart from its purely technical aspects Christianity must have something to say about organization, as well as about the life that is comprehended within the organization framework.

The Christian world view, then, is to be regarded as the revelation of the truth about human life and as having relevance to the actual world today. Furthermore, the type of political organization required in a Christian world order is a matter of vital importance to Christianity.

Now if the organization of our modern world is to be brought into conformity with Christian ideals it is plain, to begin with, that the idea of absolute national sovereignty, together with the political system of independent, sovereign states which is the result of this idea, will have to be modified. In fact, it may not be too much

of an over-simplification of the problem of peace to say that this is the root difficulty which must be overcome. In a world under the governance of one God, a system, which makes absolutes of segmented groups of men and finds ultimate good in the selfish interest of a particular section of humanity from which all other men are excluded, is nothing less than rebellion against God. Furthermore, if individual insistence upon selfish interest in disregard of the interests of others is no longer to be tolerated in the local community, both on ethical and practical grounds, there is no adequate reason for its continuance in the larger sphere of international relations. The first essential, therefore, is that the fundamental immorality of unlimited national sovereignty be laid bare. Seen in its stark reality it is un-Christian and barbaric.

If it be true that Christianity reveals the ultimate truth which lies at the heart of human organization, it is imperatively necessary on practical grounds that this idea be modified. In the long view, practical considerations must coincide with those which are Christian. The present system of independent, sovereign states, each with a "divine" right to be the judge in its own cause and to pursue its own ends, is no longer workable in a world which is as interde-

pendent as is our modern world. The psychology of a day when life in the local community was self-sustained, when even a neighboring village was days away and the outlander was to be viewed with suspicion and fear, is out of place at a time when the world is as small as a Greek City State and at least as interdependent. It is a curious irony that even in the implements of war the nations are dependent one upon the other. The *New York Times* of August 21, 1939, points out "that England is sending 300,000 tons of coal to Germany every month; that Italy has just arranged for 1,000,000 tons of that necessity from British mines; that during 1938 Germany received from Britain, France and Belgium ten million metric tons of imports largely of a character of potential assistance in her preparation for war; that during 1938 Germany's imports of pig iron and scrap were five times greater than they were two years before; that Britain, France and Belgium sent to Germany forty-five per cent of that nation's recently imported supplies of iron ore and ore containing manganese." Pure independence can no longer be maintained in the world of today and if that is true then the doctrine of absolute national sovereignty is no longer tenable. We have entered a new era, the

era of world-interdependence; and this interdependent world can escape the chaos that exists today only as it learns how to adjust its institutions and its traditions of government to the new conditions.

In a world situation in which not the nation-state but a common humanity is the primary actuality, the divine right of each national government to determine for itself all types of action without let or hindrance from anything outside itself, instead of being lessened, has become accentuated. The logic of the situation itself compels an acceptance of the Christian ideal of the universal as against the particular, the whole rather than the part. However, as the pressure for the modification of national sovereignty has increased, the right has been all the more tenaciously held to. In order to preserve it, states—not excepting the democratic—have tended to become more totalitarian. The world, which has become a vast, integrated whole in which the things that men have in common have become of primary importance, cannot be successfully handled by fifty or sixty quite separate and aggressively independent national units, each considering primarily its own interests. Quite absurdly modern man is making use of science in every department of life

but the political. In old communities life processes were of the same character from one age to the next. Radical adjustments were not required. Science has changed all that for through it the very character of the processes of life have been changed. To put science to work overcoming time and distance and bringing the world into one community and, at the same time, to apply the unscientific political ideas of a primitive society to the new situation thus created, is an anomaly which is fatal to orderly life and the welfare of humanity. Pure individualism, the "sacred egoism" of the nation-state, must give way to some more modern type of political organization which will recognize the fact that today the final unit of allegiance is not the nation-state but the world. For, whatever may be the advantage of the state in maintaining order within its own borders, the idea of the absolute independence of the state, demanding as it does the unqualified allegiance of its citizens even to the point of enforcing that allegiance, cannot be said to be of advantage to humanity as a whole. In a growing and developing civilization, the important consideration is not the accidental division of the world into separate states, but the scientific fact of an interdependent world. What is called for is a

type of political organization which will be advantageous at once to humanity within the state and at the same time to humanity as a whole.<sup>2</sup>

Under the theory of absolute national sovereignty there is left a vast vacuum between the states in that area where common interests lie, for which no adequate political instruments exist. International law, the treaty structure, the League of Nations, and other instruments of cooperation among the nations are all solidly based on the system of sovereign states where national interest is primary. None of these, not even international law, begins with the area of common interest. What is required is some form of collective system where the common good is regarded as of supreme importance. As the individual surrenders individual rights in the local community for the common welfare, in the highest self-interest, the absolute right of each nation to be its own judge in all matters must be modified to allow for the handling of common matters in common.<sup>3</sup> No local com-

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<sup>2</sup> For an interesting discussion of this point see *A Grammar of Politics* by Professor Harold J. Laski, to which reference has already been made. The last chapter contains a convincing argument for international government.

<sup>3</sup> It needs to be kept in mind that today under the system of national sovereignty no nation will brook interference with its right to make its own decision *even in matters that are of common concern*.

munity where an individual or group reserved the right of absolute veto could ever be regulated. It is becoming increasingly clear that neither is this position tenable in a world that is rapidly approximating the condition of a local community. It is also clear that the idea that the unrestrained pursuit of self-interest on the part of national groups will result by a natural process in the greatest good is equally untenable.

This is particularly demonstrated in the field of economics. Although, in the case of individuals, the principle of laissez-faire seems still to be held, at least in modified form, it is becoming increasingly doubtful that the greatest good of all is secured through the pursuit of self-interest. The pursuit of national economic self-interest clothed with the sanctity of an absolute right is at the basis of the chaos of our modern world. No one could be found today who would contend that the constantly recurring wars resulting therefrom can be regarded as good in any sense. If the common good of humanity is to be realized, the common interests of mankind must be made the basis of the political instrument which is to secure that common good. That there is an area of common interest which must be provided for by some



form of political instrument designed to function in this common area has already been recognized in the formation of the League of Nations. What has not yet been recognized, in practice at least, is that this instrument of collective action must be squarely based on a common concern for humanity as a whole and not on the self-interest of the various nations related to the organization. If such an instrument of government is to be able to function the right of absolute national sovereignty must be modified and each nation must relinquish its absolute right in these matters that are of common concern. What is required is the comprehensive recognition that the common good of humanity is primary and national good must flow from that rather than that common good can flow through the individualism of the nation-state.

The Christian idea of a common humanity under the governance of God is a basic idea which is urgently needed in the world today. For a system of cooperation which leaves the nation-state as the unit and does not alter the ideas behind it will at best serve only as a palliative. The "corporate" principle, which recognizes the common interest of humanity as the starting point, is essential if the evils of absolute na-

tional sovereignty are to be obviated.<sup>4</sup> The idea of a commonwealth that includes not one group but the whole of humanity seems to be the only idea that fits the actual world situation today and that offers to modern society the hope of preserving the benefits of civilization. In a commonwealth, as the word itself indicates, the well being of all is made the common concern of all. The law of human brotherhood applied to the world situation requires not merely the cooperation of isolated units, but the fusing of interest and concern that will embrace not one's own national group alone, but the whole of mankind. The ruling motive must be not self-interest but love. "But whosoever will be great among you let him be your minister."<sup>5</sup>

The recognition that the common good of humanity is basic to good government is accepted within limited groups. Moreover, there is an ever increasing area of common interest within these groups. Soil erosion on a farm in Kansas is considered to be of vital concern not alone to the farmer himself nor even to the farmers as a group but to the whole nation. Is there any basis for the belief that in interna-

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<sup>4</sup> Bailey, S. H., *The Framework of International Society*, page 88.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. 20:26.

tional affairs these enlarging areas of common interest can be regulated by a system of independent nation-states each devoted with passion to the pursuit of its own vital interest? The situation must inevitably lead to the setting up of some political entity that will function in this area of common interest and fill the vacuum that is now left between the states. This rapidly increasing area of common concern must not be left in a state of anarchy. In the local community instruments of government are at hand to provide for orderly change, to make adjustments between conflicting interests and to obviate conflict by anticipating dissatisfactions through more just arrangements. Thus within the several states order not anarchy obtains but in the international field, where there is no orderly government, the conflict of interests can only be resolved through the use of primitive methods long since abandoned in the individual state.

In any community there is always a delicate balance between the satisfied and the dissatisfied. A static situation is therefore always dangerous. The status quo must be continually modified to prevent the revolt of the dissatisfied against a crystallized situation which has become intolerable. For, if there is one thing

that is certain in human affairs it is that things cannot remain stationary but must continually change. One function of government is to provide for this change in an orderly manner, to maintain such a balance between the satisfied and the dissatisfied in a community that revolt does not take place. Indeed, it may be said that a function of government is to keep at least one step ahead of revolution. While disputes must arise they are settled in an orderly manner and *are reduced to a minimum by action in advance*. A government to be permanent, therefore, must be flexible and must make orderly change possible. This is achieved through legislation and through amendment of the fundamental law or enlargement of the scope of that law through interpretation by the courts. What is to be dreaded in government is a "freezing" of the status quo.

In the present world situation where no government exists the world of nations, in the nature of the case, proceeds from one crisis to another. After each crisis a new status quo is established which usually contains intolerable features to begin with (e.g. the Versailles Treaty) but which in any case soon becomes intolerable as the normal process of development brings about a new balance of forces. The

only way that this status quo can be broken and that change can take place in international affairs, since anarchy not government obtains, is through what in a state would be called revolution, that is, through the use of force or the threat of force. This is the reason why in the international field so much is said about settling disputes. For, in a dynamic situation such as necessarily obtains in the world of nations, where there is a periodic attempt to fix a status quo, recurrent crises are inevitable. Where government exists disputes that reach the crisis stage are abnormal; in the absence of a government which can function in the area that lies between the states disputes are the normal. In the one case disputes are to be anticipated by providing for orderly change; in the other disputes are looked upon as normal and ways and means are to be devised for settling them *after they occur*, if possible by some means other than the revolutionary method.

But, so long as absolute national sovereignty remains unmodified and the vacuum between the states is left in anarchy and is not filled by an adequate political government, recurring war is inevitable. It is this fact which is almost entirely overlooked in most current peace efforts. War is not the abnormal but the normal

in the present form of world organization. The "war to end war" may be a useful phrase for carrying people into a particular war, but it does not represent even a shadow of truth, for the only way that a world status quo, which in the nature of the case can never remain static, can, in practice, be changed is by organized revolt, and in the world today this is war. In any local community where government did not obtain, the vigilante method would be resorted to. Actually the world community today is simply the local community writ large. Private violence is no longer to be tolerated in a local political community, but it would need to be resorted to, if no organization to provide for orderly change existed. It is unreasonable to expect that in the unorganized international community private violence should be ruled out. It must and will be resorted to again and again. "Whatever the causes may be, it is the undisputed fact that ever since the world adopted the concept of national sovereignty, there has been a periodic recurrence of violent outbreaks through those barriers called national boundaries. The history of the world of nations is a history of war and of changing boundaries. A constant recurrence of this phenomenon over the centuries and throughout the world should

be sufficient to convince us that sovereignty as it is usually practiced inherently involves an attempt to restrain dynamic forces which periodically become irresistible.”<sup>6</sup>

It is therefore not the war system that needs to be revised but the un-Christian and outmoded concept of absolute national sovereignty, which leaves the world community without organization and in a state of anarchy and which must lead inevitably to periodic outbreaks. War is not something apart that may or may not be dispensed with. It is the overt expression of a system that makes the private and independent right of the nation the supreme good. The selfish interest of the individual nation comes inevitably into conflict with the selfish interest of another nation and since each interest, under the concept of national sovereignty, inevitably takes on the color of a divine right by the nation concerned a resort to force becomes the normal procedure. So long as no international governmental machinery exists, to which any of these rights have been delegated and which is consequently capable of anticipating such conflict of interests through orderly adjustment, na-

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<sup>6</sup> Dulles, John Foster, *The Universal Church and the World of Nations*, Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, pages 152 and 153. Quoted by permission.

tions will resort to war. The development of Europe since 1920 gives tragic illustration of this fact. In a situation which was radically out of balance, whatever adjustments were attempted had to be worked out in an atmosphere of conflicting national self-interests. There was no political instrument which had the right to consider Europe as a whole; no institution existed which was free to face the task of stabilizing the total situation. The only course open was to attempt a balance of a variety of self-interests through the ordinary channels of negotiation. So long as Germany was weak, the conflict of interest did not assume an explosive character, but the disastrous ending of this period was implicit from the beginning. The ultimate *dénouement* will always be war so long as the idea of absolute national self-interest is not modified. Any peace movement which ignores this basic problem is consequently doomed to futility from the outset. The way to stop an onrushing locomotive is not to lie on the track to obstruct its passage, but to cut off the flow of steam from within the cab itself. Until the concept of national sovereignty is modified to allow for international government war will continue to be the norm no matter how passionately we may inveigh against it.



It is imperative that this outmoded idea give place to the Christian concept of the commonwealth. But the mere recognition of the idea of the commonwealth will be ineffective unless there is an adequate organization to give force to the idea. Such an organization will have to be given an area in which to function and powers will need to be delegated to it which are now held by the several states. A League which leaves the states with absolute sovereignty will effect no change of any importance in the present situation, because it leaves untouched the basic difficulty. What is required is a federation to which certain portions of national sovereignty are relinquished. This involves quite a different principle than that which has obtained up to the present in international affairs. Up until now the nation-state has been left intact, its inalienable right to self-determination and the pursuit of its own self-interest has been unchallenged, and what has been attempted has been to provide for the settlement of disputes which have inevitably arisen between the states. What is needed is a government which embodies all the functions of government and thus is capable of bringing flexibility into international affairs. It will, therefore, need the legislative as well as the administrative and judicial functions of gov-

ernment so that orderly change may be provided for; for without all these functions government becomes inflexible and cannot adequately meet emergent situations.

"The real problem of peace is a problem of adjustment or arrangement, of removing or mitigating causes of discontent, of satisfying when that is possible, and of soothing when it is not, national interests or desires. . . . Neither courts of law nor a police force, however efficient, are our safeguard against civil war within the State; they can deal with the violent acts of individuals, acting singly or in mobs, but they cannot deal with the acts of men sufficiently numerous or sufficiently moved by dissatisfaction with the existing order to have organized themselves for the cooperative disciplined violence which is war. Against that the only security, within or without the State, is to deal with the sources of dissatisfaction, and that is exactly what legislation seeks to do."<sup>7</sup>

Under a federated world government each state would preserve its own distinctive character, and only such rights would be delegated to the central authority as would be necessary

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<sup>7</sup> Brierly, J. L., in *Problems of Peace*, Fifth Series, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pages 228 and 229. Quoted by permission

to insure the efficient handling of the common needs of mankind. The feasibility of this principle has been demonstrated in the various federal unions which already have come into existence as separate nations. In applying the Christian world view to world organization, as we have seen, the group genius as exhibited in the nation has its own place as a definite creation of God. It is not cosmopolitanism but federation in the common interest which is called for. World political organization is thus at once the embodiment of the Christian world view and the logical outcome of an integrated world. The last hundred years have given birth to a world. By the inexorable progress of history not the individual state but humanity has become the primary unit. The existing anarchy must, therefore, give place to world government if orderly life on a world scale is to be secured. The truth about the world as it is revealed in Christian faith and the actual situation as it is revealed in human history thus come together in demanding world political government.

But is it not futile to propose anything as chimerical as the modification of national sovereignty and the setting-up of a world political organization in a world such as ours locked in

a death grapple of gigantic opposing forces? Is there any reason to suppose that these great national egoisms could ever be brought to relinquish to an organized humanity any of the "divine" rights which they now exert? It must be admitted that the real situation offers little encouragement to such an idea, but, on the other hand, systems which at the time were vested with equal sacredness have been supplanted. Few who were living under the feudal system, for example, could have envisaged a world in which that system of social organization would be entirely superseded. The historian looking back can discover seeds of its disruption which were not readily perceptible to the people of the time, but disappear it did and a new social fabric has taken its place. The world of sovereign states, as we know it, is but a few hundred years old. "In between the decline of the Roman Empire and the Reformation, there was no such thing as a sovereign state. Had you told any medieval thinker of any competence that there was in any community a power entitled to give orders to anyone without regard to the substance of the order, and itself receiving orders from no one, you would certainly have been described as a blasphemer of what is eternal in the moral life. You would

have been told that that alone is sovereign which reveals the principles of the Divine Order, and that the principles of the Divine Order are, as nearly as may be, reflected in natural law, and that natural law is the effort on the part of man to discover or to rediscover what he acted upon before he entered into the state of sin. The whole of medieval life is occupied by the belief that there are certain fundamental verities without which no state (though the word 'state' is itself a misnomer) can realize its need—the perfect life for each individual.”<sup>8</sup>

Nationalism as we know it today is not an unchanging phenomenon of history. It is only a temporary form of human grouping in an ever-changing world. It is not inherently impossible to bring back the basic idea of the medieval world—that there is a universal moral law with which men must reckon—and apply it to the modern situation. This will demand a modification of the existing system to bring it into harmony with the fundamental truth that lies at the heart of life.

There is much to encourage in the growing recognition that a solution of the problem lies

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<sup>8</sup> Laski, Prof. Harold J., in *Problems of Peace*, 1926 edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, page 290. Quoted by permission.

in some sort of world federation. The June, 1939 issue of the Round Table, a quarterly Review of the Politics of the British Commonwealth contains this definite statement: "Until federation abolishes sovereignty and creates a true world government amenable to public opinion, the nations will continue to live in anarchy, whatever their contractual obligation may be. . . ." The various attempts which have been already made to provide some instrument that can function in the vacuum between the states such as the World Court and the League of Nations, indicate that the modern world is at least reaching out for something that will take the place of the chaos which the present system has produced. What is happening is that the modern world is being forced to see the actual place of the nation-state as only one of the many groupings of mankind. Old institutions about to be superceded invariably become caricatures of what they were at a time when they were satisfying vital needs. This accounts for the extremes of state-ism today. But there is a groping for new instruments which will express new needs only dimly descried, but which are none the less deeply felt. These instruments can come to fruition only as the nation-state joins with others in an order which will furnish

a new integration amid an ever increasing variety of human groupings.

The world is faced with two alternatives: either persistence along the lines of the present nation-state idea with the inevitable accompaniment of ever more devastating wars; or the acceptance of some form of world organization equipped to provide for orderly change. It is difficult to see how the former course can result in anything but a progressive destruction of modern civilization. For modern warfare, involving as it does whole populations and the vast resources of whole peoples, is so destructive that it is difficult to imagine how highly integrated modern society can long endure the strain. Furthermore, in our closely integrated world, the whole fabric of the life of all the world is so seriously affected by any major conflict, that the continuation of a system of which war is an integral part must result in the destruction of civilization itself. This statement is often made today, but the more carefully it is considered the less of a rhetorical statement it becomes and the more it appears to express the stark fact which our world faces. It seems quite incredible that faced with such an alternative a world political organization should not be developed to avert a catastrophe so colossal

and so subversive of the best interests of all the peoples of the world.

There is perhaps a third alternative which has a powerful influence on world leaders to-day: namely, that one nation should become strong enough to dominate all others.<sup>9</sup> This would produce a sort of pax Romana so long as the strong nation could maintain its control. The doctrine of national sovereignty carried to its natural conclusion tends again and again to develop states with this will to dominate. Once make a single nation or race the final criterion of absolute good and it is logical to follow through to the point where it is believed that the highest good for humanity is to be mediated through that which is regarded as an absolute. Thus we have the old German Kultur idea, the Pax Britannica, the modern Japanese idea of the Kingly Way through the spread of which alone peace can come, and we have the will to dominate of the modern German state. Other states are compelled in the interest of their own national independence to resist these encroachments, and, as a result, the world tends to split up into blocs that a balance may be maintained and domination of one power prevented. It is un-

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<sup>9</sup>Newfang, Oscar, *The Road to World Peace*, N. Y.: G. P. Putnam's Sons, page 37. Used by permission.



necessary to develop this well known phenomenon of the world of sovereign states. It is sufficient to point out that there is this third alternative which lies at the root of power politics. It is highly unlikely in the world today that any one nation could for long exert sufficient domination to produce a cessation of conflict. It is probably not entirely accurate to call this a third alternative. It is more logical to regard it as descriptive of one phase of the working-out of the system of sovereign nation-states.

The world is, therefore, confronted with two live options, a continuation of the present system with recurring destructive wars or the formation of some adequate world government. The acceptance of the latter alternative in any future which we can now visualize may seem unlikely, but the Christian is not primarily concerned with immediate success. For him the more important question is, What is true? Practical considerations demand political world organization. Whether or not this is recognized the fact remains that the present system is not only clearly subversive of the sound ethical thinking of the centuries, but is diametrically opposed to the Christian world view. It is, therefore, the business of the Christian to point

out that this must be abandoned for a system that will give effect to the basic ideas of the Christian world view. Whether it is likely to be accepted or not is not the test of its validity. It is our duty to enunciate it and bend every effort to its realization because we believe that it is true. The Christian has never been afraid of ideas that have been called impractical. The Gospel has always been foolishness to the Greeks, but to those who are called it is the "wisdom of God and the power of God." The prophet (preacher) was always a "voice crying in the wilderness." But nonetheless he must preach. "Woe is me, if I preach not the Gospel!"

The setting-up of world political government calls for such radical readjustments that it may seem a remote ideal at present, but history has again and again evinced the power of an idea. The institution of slavery, powerfully entrenched in economic life, gave way before an idea. The doctrine of the divine right of kings, gave way before an idea. "Great ideas are wonderful things. They are the real dynamics of individual and social advance. Once a great idea has appeared in concrete form it seems to be well-nigh indestructible. It resembles a Mendelian factor which, once achieved, can

never be undone again,—at any rate not in the ordinary course of events.”<sup>10</sup>

It is perhaps a mistake to speak of the proposal for world government as an idea at all. It is to be regarded rather as the method of bringing a chaotic world order into harmony with the ultimate truth about the kind of universe in which we live. Failure to comply can only result in ultimate disaster. John Macmurray in the *Clue to History*, the thesis of which we cannot here develop, makes the point that, since God is in control of history and His purposes cannot be frustrated, the world of nations must inevitably comply with the Christian world view—“the world of freedom, equality and humanity.” He writes in the concluding sentence of his book, “It is the inevitable destiny of fascism to create what it intends to prevent—the socialist commonwealth of the world. The fundamental law of human nature cannot be broken. ‘He that saveth his life shall lose it.’ The will to power is self-frustrating. It is the meek who will inherit the earth.”<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Smuts, General J. C., *Africa and Some World Problems*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pages 115 and 116. Quoted by permission.

<sup>11</sup> Macmurray, John, *The Clue to History*, N. Y.: Harper & Brothers Publishers, page 237. Quoted by permission.

## V

### WHY ARE PRESENT PEACE EFFORTS SO FUTILE?

MANY efforts have been made to substitute order for the chaos existing in inter-state relations and bring about peaceful conditions. Among these are international law, the international contract or treaty, the conference method, which has been crystallized in the League of Nations, and the Kellogg Peace Pact. Attempts at a solution have been made on the basis of world economic problems. There has also been concerted effort to create a public will to peace. Current political thinking makes much of the international arrangements now existing, and it would appear that for many all that is required for a solution of the problem is a strengthening of these instruments. Nevertheless, the world seems as far from a solution of the problem of war and peace as at any time in its history. Why have these efforts, together with the efforts of the various peace organizations to build a public opinion for peace, been comparatively so futile?

How much can be expected from the insti-

tution of international law, which is often referred to in public documents as though it were possible to secure permanent order among the states through its more complete observance? There are two limitations to international law which need to be noticed for the purposes of this discussion: the first is that being of the nature of common law it is painfully slow in its development and non-dynamic in character; and the second is that law alone cannot meet the kind of a situation that exists among the states.

International law can only come into being by common consent. It is what is often called customary law. When a line of procedure is found to be mutually advantageous and is followed long enough to be accepted by all nations it becomes the normal procedure and thus comes to be regarded as a law. The three mile limit for territorial control at sea may be used as an illustration. This was for many years accepted as the law of nations. Modern conditions, however, now make this law obsolete and the process of substitution is now taking place. The United States in the enforcement of the prohibition law was compelled to insist on a wider limit. Should this be accepted in practice by other nations in time a new limit may be

established. More recently a three hundred mile zone has been fixed along the coast of the Americas but an effort is being made to prevent this from being regarded as an extension of territorial limits in the same sense as that of the outmoded three mile limit. This illustration of a very minor law will serve to show how painfully slow the process is, for until a given practice has the unanimous consent of all the nations through years of actual experience such practice cannot assume the dignity of a law.

Common law does not develop rapidly in a world which has grown accustomed to statutory law. In the days when the instruments for introducing changes in law in the local community were inadequate, it was essential in the interests of order that more things be settled by common consent. Thus the progress in the development of common law was comparatively rapid. Today, however, when regulation by legislation is the normal method the minds of men turn to this method and are not favorable to the development of a body of law which depends upon common consent based on general practice. It is difficult for people who have come to depend on statutory law for the regulation of life within the states to return to the method of customary law in the international

field. There is a degree of instinctive reaction demanded which was present in an earlier day but which is absent today.

International law also lacks the dynamic character which is necessary in the kind of situation that exists today, for law must be readily changeable if it is to result in justice. Law that becomes crystallized not only does not result in justice but becomes positively dangerous in a dynamic situation. A degree of flexibility must be provided if justice is to be obtained. This can be secured through legislation, but is not available through common law alone.<sup>1</sup>

The attempt to settle disputes by arbitration amply illustrates this fundamental weakness of international law. The idea that lies back of the arbitration principle is that disputes have arisen which under this law can be arbitrated or adjusted. However, as Max Huber has pointed out in *The Universal Church and World of Nations* ". . . the most dangerous conflicts between states do not run on the interpretation of a law which is already or is still

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<sup>1</sup> No matter how revolting to the general sense of justice or threatening to peace the status quo may be international law affords no redress. "It is in the position of a State whose constitution would refuse to allow for legislation by majority and which contained no provisions permitting its own amendment." Prof. W. E. Rappard in *Problems of Peace*, Fifth Series, Oxford: Oxford University Press, page 16. Quoted by permission.

recognized, but on the preservation or alteration of the law." <sup>2</sup> J. L. Brierly in *Problems of Peace* makes this same point: "The limitation (of law) lies in the simple and obvious fact that a legal settlement is necessarily a settlement on the basis of existing legal rights, and it is not the case that all disputes are disputes about existing rights; they are often, probably generally, disputes in which one party is dissatisfied with his rights." <sup>3</sup> He goes on to say, "The problem of the peaceful incorporation of changes into an existing order is the supreme problem of statesmanship, national or international. Whenever it is not frankly faced and solved, revolution in the national, and war in the international, field will always in the long run burst the fragile dams of legal formulas by which we vainly try to stabilize a changing world. The paradox of all law is that it cannot keep its vitality unless there exists legal means of overriding legal rights in a proper case, but if we believe that the law exists for men and not men for the law, it is right that this should be so. Within a well-ordered State the pressure

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<sup>2</sup> Huber, Max, *The Universal Church and the World of Nations*, Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, page 130. Quoted by permission.

<sup>3</sup> Brierly, J. L., in *Problems of Peace*, Third Series, Oxford: Oxford University Press, page 296. Quoted by permission.



for change is more or less successfully canalized by a legislature, which can weigh demands and judge what changes are just, and when. In the international sphere the problem has not yet found its solution. . . . (What is clear is that) side by side with the development of legal methods of settling disputes, we need a system for the peaceful introduction of changes into the international order, and that without the second of those two reforms an uncompromising insistence on the first would be an actual danger to peace."<sup>4</sup>

Law alone, even though that law were given the dynamic character which legislation provides, could not meet the situation in the international field any more than it can in a national community. There are a host of administrative problems which require instruments that are not merely legislative or judicial in character. This fact is too elementary to require elaboration. No community can be adequately organized for government by providing legal apparatus alone. The only instrument that is adequate is government with the administrative as well as the legislative and judicial.

"For law is a highly specialized instrument in social life: it simply cannot be cast for any part

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<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, pages 297, 298.

in a scheme of reform which happens not to be filled by any other instrument.”<sup>5</sup>

International law is effective so far as it goes but it is unrealistic to expect that it can fill the vacancy left by the unorganized international community which requires the same sort of organization which is needed within a local national community. “Most of the activities of most individuals, and most of the activities of States, are not governed by law, . . . I cannot foresee a development of international law which would make it possible for all relations between States to be handled in accordance with law.”<sup>6</sup>

It is still more unrealistic to expect that war can be eliminated through the instrumentality of international law for a great deal of international law is concerned with rules and regulations governing warfare itself. This is to be expected when it is remembered that war is an integral part of the system of sovereign nation-states. Since this is so, a common law, evolved to cover relationships among these states and which must necessarily take as a matter of

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<sup>5</sup> Brierly, J. L., in *Problems of Peace*, Third Series, Oxford: Oxford University Press, page 289. Quoted by permission.

<sup>6</sup> Hudson, Prof. Manley O., *Problems of Peace*, Fifth Series, Oxford: Oxford University Press, page 184. Quoted by permission.

course the existence of these states with their idea of absolute national sovereignty as the ground and basis of that law, must necessarily have much to do with the regulation of war, which is a norm in interstate relationships. General Smuts is the authority for the statement that "international law since the time of Grotius has assumed that war is a legitimate activity of states."<sup>7</sup> It is, therefore, nothing short of absurd to expect a system that makes war legitimate and is concerned with prescribing regulations for carrying it on "legitimately" to be effective at all in doing away with it.

In fact, it may even be questioned whether international law in any real sense is possible so long as absolute sovereignty is maintained. At present, whatever law there is, must be developed within this frame work, but it must always, in the nature of the case, be on very precarious ground and be subject to constant infringement. For, as we have seen, the nation is above ethical considerations; the pursuit of its own interest is its first law, and no matter what means are used, the end of its own vital interest must be pursued. Now this furnishes a very precarious basis for law, for when a na-

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<sup>7</sup> Smuts, General J. C., *Africa and Some World Problems*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, page 129. Quoted by permission.

tion's vital interest runs counter to what has hitherto been regarded as customary, it is obviously justifiable to set this customary practice aside in order to achieve the end desired. President Roosevelt makes this very clear in discussing the relation of the newly established three hundred mile protection zone to the three mile territorial limit fixed by international law, when he indicates that in a case where the question of national defense is concerned such rules have to be flexible. In other words, when it is in the interest of the United States a long-recognized law must be set aside and a new regulation made unilaterally.

Furthermore, there is lacking that mutual confidence which obtains in the normal relations of individuals in a society where ethical considerations to a greater or less degree are operative. Between individuals the weight of ethical considerations gives an expectancy of reciprocal response. This cannot be looked for in a system of sovereign states where self-interest is not mitigated by ethical considerations.

"When a man refrains from violence or fraud to his fellow-citizens, he does so knowing that law and public opinion will impose a like restraint on his competitor or opponent. But if a nation treats an enemy State fairly and honor-

ably, speaking the truth to it, and does no more harm in war than the customs of war allow, what security is there that the enemy may not be tricking it and that he will not break all the rules of war in his effort to destroy its troops and devastate its territory." <sup>8</sup>

International law is customary law and thus painfully slow in its development, especially since it is an anachronism in a world largely dependent on statutory law. It is, therefore, lacking in dynamic character and cannot adjust readily to new situations. Furthermore it is subject to the limitations of all law and cannot be expected to fill all the demands of political organization. It cannot fill a vacancy where all the functions of government are demanded. And the doctrine of absolute national sovereignty, which makes a nation an absolute above ethical considerations, gives a very tenuous basis for law which, therefore, is subject to constant infringement. The importance of international law, however, must not be underestimated. It is a strong anchor to windward in the gales that are blowing over the world and every effort must be made to strengthen it, but its limitations and the reasons for them must

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<sup>8</sup> Bryce, James, *International Relations*, N. Y.: The Macmillan Company, pages 195 and 196. Quoted by permission.

be recognized. International law cannot be expected to be a suitable instrument for solving the problem of peace in a world of nations. It is too fragmentary. It demands too much on the part of the sovereign state in its present form voluntarily to meet the demands of international law when it is adverse to the interest of the state. Few individuals would have sufficient moral fortitude to obey a law which runs counter to their immediate interest unless they knew that behind it was a consensus of opinion backed by superior force. The nations have no such spur and without a higher sovereignty to give effect to the demands of the law it is likely to be obeyed only in minor matters.

A treaty is designed to crystallize the status quo. Through history war has usually ended by a treaty adjusting differences and establishing peace. Such a treaty was considered to be backed by the "honor" of the signatories and by the might of the victorious powers. This tended to "freeze" the situation existing at the end of the war. Protective treaties have also played a large part in maintaining peace, for a longer or shorter time, by the alignment of forces agreed upon. Recently, trade treaties have been negotiated in an attempt to break the stalemate in

international trade. Treaties designed to regulate armaments are in a different class: they have to do directly with a balance in war machines. But unique in the history of treaty making was the Kellogg Peace Pact which gave expression to a genuine and widespread desire to bring an end to armed conflict as a means of settling international disputes.

Today the attempt to abolish war by declaring it illegal in the Kellogg Peace Pact seems rather curious and naive. The purpose of this Pact as defined by one of its strong protagonists, Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, was to put law on the side of peace, where it is now on the side of war; it was specifically intended to organize the world against war, "because there is not known to human society any method by which an established institution may be gotten rid of except by outlawing it."<sup>9</sup>

Back of this, of course, lies the faith that international law is sufficient to solve the war problem; that the real problem is not a radical readjustment in the basic system of sovereign states but a perfection of the legal relationships among them; that what is called for is finding

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<sup>9</sup> Morrison, Charles Clayton, *The Outlawry of War*, Chicago: Willett Clark & Company, page 213. (Italics omitted.) Quoted by permission.

a better way of doing the same things, rather than a readjustment in the motives behind action. The institution of war is not the basic institution. The system of sovereign nation-states is the basis from which a beginning must be made. To attempt to abolish war without attacking the basic system of which it is an integral part is like attempting to cure a disease by eliminating its symptoms. The event has proven the futility of this method. The Kellogg Peace Pact with all the high hopes that gathered about it, was doomed to failure at the outset. There were weaknesses within the Pact itself. It offered no alternative way of settling disputes, no alternative for effecting change, no method of preventing its violation. "It binds us never to seek a solution of our disputes, except by pacific means, but it does not bind us to *settle* our disputes by peaceful means. . . ." <sup>10</sup> But its fatal weakness lies in the fact that it rested on the belief that the problem of war and peace can be settled by perfecting the legal frame work of international law and consequently it was subject to all the limitations for the solution of the problem that law possesses.

Furthermore, it is to be questioned whether

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<sup>10</sup> Arnold-Forster, W., in *Problems of Peace*, Fifth Series, Oxford: Oxford University Press, page 236. Quoted by permission.



it is strictly true that the only way "known to human society" by which an established institution may be gotten rid of is to outlaw it. Laws have often followed to give form to institutions already well established. Old institutions become outmoded and new ones are put in their place in society, both institutions existing alongside for a time, before final recognition takes place in law. Feudalism was not replaced by fiat, but the ideas back of feudalism ceased to be valid and a new social system had to take its place. The real problem in the matter of war and peace is not legal machinery, but a reorientation of ideas away from the selfish pursuit of national interest as a divine right to the idea of common humanity; a new faith that will find the highest interest in the welfare of all humanity and which will make it possible for nations to give up a supposed self-interest for their own highest good, which can only be found in seeking the common good of all. This new spirit will then be able to clothe itself with a suitable organizational body which will provide for orderly change without the use of force.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Again to quote Professor Brierly: "So long as (pacifism) uses language which implies that law is merely a more sensible way of doing what we have hitherto done by war, the main stream of national policy will sweep past the puny barriers that it tries to set up." J. L. Brierly, in *Problems of Peace*, Third Series, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 294. By permission.

It may be urged that the Kellogg Peace Pact was of value in rallying the peace sentiment of the world and in depriving war of its legal status. To say that no good has resulted would be untrue, but in a state of affairs where the norm is anarchy and international law is extremely precarious, a status of illegality is relatively only slightly worse than a status of legality. Apparently wars are not always declared any more and this is undoubtedly to be credited to the Kellogg Pact. But, the difficulty with such a sentimental movement as that which put this Pact on record in the chancellories of the nations is that it focuses the attention upon war, rather than on the basic ideas behind war, and produces that moral complacency which comes from making a gesture in the direction of the right but which leaves the character unchanged.

The Kellogg Peace Pact also implies a belief in treaties that is not justified by the facts. Treaties also are subject to some of the same limitations that are possessed by international law. It frequently occurs that a number of powers find it possible to draw up an agreement which in general satisfies the vital interest of each of them at the time. This is usually achieved by a delicate balance of concession and demand. The Nine Power Treaty negotiated

at Washington is a case in point. More often, as in the case of the Versailles Treaty, preponderant strength brings about an agreement which is accepted under duress. In both types of treaties the attempt is made to crystallize the status quo, and, as we have often seen, there is nothing more dangerous than this in a dynamic world. This danger is accentuated by surrounding the treaty structure with the sanctity of contract that obtains in individual relations in society. John Foster Dulles in *War, Peace and Change*, has pointed out that none of the conditions that obtain in the contractual relationship between individuals obtains in the treaty relationship between nations. The wonder is, therefore, writes L. S. Woolf in *International Government*, "not that some treaties are broken, but that such an enormous number are fulfilled."<sup>12</sup> For in any attempt to crystallize the status quo, there is certain to develop, if it was not present to begin with, a dissatisfaction on the part of one party or group of parties in the treaty arrangement, and the more vehemently the group that is satisfied with the status quo urges the sanctity of treaties the more violent becomes the spirit of revolt on the part of the dissatis-

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<sup>12</sup> Woolf, L. S., *International Government*, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., page 17.

fied.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the mistake must not be made of concluding that it is necessarily immoral to be dissatisfied; that the group opposed to the status quo is always in the wrong. It is more realistic to recognize that in any community there is always this element of the "static" and the "dynamic" and that the question of morality or immorality has little bearing on the fact of change. The truth is that the treaty structure is simply another of the halting arrangements that have been necessarily developed in an unorganized world. The treaty must be seen for what it is, a temporary accommodation of a variety of self-interests—in many cases, an armed truce which fills the interlude between wars—and it must not be looked upon as offering any basic solution of the problem of peace.

A number of attempts have been made in recent years to achieve what has been called disarmament. Treaties have been drawn up and ratified by groups of powers limiting armaments. The most important of these perhaps was the Nine Power Treaty which for a time served to stay what bid fair to be a disastrous armament race. While these efforts have un-

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<sup>18</sup> This has been abundantly illustrated in the years that have followed the Versailles Treaty.

doubtedly achieved notable results, disarmament cannot be expected to solve the problem of war.

In the breathing-spell which followed the settlement of the Great War there was a good deal of discussion of disarmament. One of the provisions of the Versailles Treaty called for disarmament. Full dress conferences of the nations were held. As has already been indicated, it is a misnomer to call these conferences "disarmament" conferences. They were conferences to bring about a reduction in armaments, for it is frankly recognized by government negotiators that some armament is an essential, since force stands behind all diplomacy and must be the final arbiter in a state of international anarchy such as actually exists.<sup>14</sup> The presence of generals and admirals at these conferences made it abundantly clear that what was sought was not disarmament but a readjustment of existing armament programs. We have no quarrel with this attitude, for it is an honest one and represents the real situation; our quarrel is with those who view the method of disarmament as a road to peace. For disarmament conferences

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<sup>14</sup> What was sought at these conferences and found unobtainable was a balance of armaments that would give equal security at a lower level than that currently maintained.

do nothing whatever to modify the international setup which makes armament necessary. "The endeavors to restrict and reduce armaments are thoroughly justifiable and necessary, both for economic reasons and in order to relieve tension in the political sphere, but they do not fundamentally alter the dynamic of international relations so long as the structure of the international world is not changed."<sup>15</sup> It is therefore an utterly fatuous misreading of the real international situation to expect a program, which leaves quite untouched the ideas which make armaments necessary, to result in a solution of the problem of war and peace. As well expect the reduction in electrical supply furnished to the cities in the northern part of the United States and Canada to affect the operation of the aurora borealis.

But is not the League of Nations the organization which the world needs? The League is, of course, the most promising attempt which the world has made to substitute orderly procedure for the chaos of international anarchy, but here again it is important that the League be understood for what it is. It is necessary that we do this not only for a clear understand-

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<sup>15</sup> Huber, Max, *Universal Church and the World of Nations*, Willett, Clark & Company, page 125. Quoted by permission.

ing of the problem of peace, but also that we may not be too deeply disturbed by its apparent futility. The League is not and never pretended to be a world government. The nations which participated actively in its organization jealously saw to it that it should not become this.<sup>16</sup> It is solidly based on absolute national sovereignty. The only modification was in the agreement to delay the starting of a war until conference would be held. Each nation still retains unimpaired its own right to be the judge of what is in its own interest. Unanimity is required in every decision arrived at so that the ultimate right of each nation to be its own judge is not disturbed. It is unrealistic to regard the nations participating in the League as under the government of the League in any respect. The League is what it is called, a league. It is not a federation in any sense and cannot be called a government. It is simply a more definitive organization for carrying on the conference method between nations and is subject to all the limitations of that method. It will be instruc-

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<sup>16</sup> The argument against the League at the time was that it would be a super-state, consequently its authors insisted that it would not involve any limitation of the sovereignty of member states. In spite of this effort to conserve the independent sovereignty of each state the heart of the opposition at the time in the United States Senate was that it impaired the sovereignty of the United States.

tive to quote the opinion of some authorities on the League structure. The League is not a federation or super-State but an inter-State system. "Except in these limited, but important respects (viz.—not to go to war without arbitration or delay) all States retained their sovereign rights of free decision unimpaired, and decisions upon any common line of action required unanimity to be binding."<sup>17</sup> ". . . it is not true to say today . . . that a State Member of the League of Nation is governed by the international body of which it is a part. . . . "To allude to the League as an institution of international government, (is to use) a convenient term for the muddle-headed and a phrase adequate only for the expression of a confused idea."<sup>18</sup> "The League, therefore, having no authority over its members, because its members will accept no binding obligations towards it, is not an institution of government. It is, if you please, a government by persuasion. . . . But . . . government by persuasion is persuasion and not government."<sup>19</sup> "The League of

<sup>17</sup> Salter, Sir Arthur, *Security, Can We Retrieve It*, Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., page 107. Quoted by permission.

<sup>18</sup> Rappard, Prof. W., *Problems of Peace*, Fifth Series, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pages 8 and 10. Quoted by permission.

<sup>19</sup> Rappard, Prof. W., *Problems of Peace*, Second Series, Oxford: Oxford University Press, page 19. Quoted by permission.



Nations represents an attempt to secure peace by piling up forces to make national boundaries more durable and impenetrable. The member nations are pledged to apply economic or military sanctions to any nation which threatens the boundaries of another. Thus the Treaty of Peace emerged as a rededication of the nations to the old principles of sovereignty. The world would be maintained as an area cut into unchanging and unchangeable compartments, the walls of which would continue as perpetual barriers to the interplay of dynamic forces. . . .”<sup>20</sup>

“The essence of the Covenant and the most valuable and important thing in it is just its main conception that there shall be an organized system of conference and discussion between the States for the promotion of understanding and the prevention of war.”<sup>21</sup>

From these statements it will be seen that at best the League modifies national sovereignty only in providing for conference and delay before entering upon war and at worst it is to be regarded as but another instrument for stabiliz-

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<sup>20</sup> Dulles, John Foster, *The Universal Church and the World of Nations*, Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, pages 154, 155. Quoted by permission.

<sup>21</sup> Smuts, General J. C., *Africa and Some World Problems*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, page 119. Quoted by permission.

ing the status quo. In any case, it is not to be understood as a world government and does not in any appreciable degree modify the idea of absolute national sovereignty. It has given great impetus to the conference method of settling disputes and adjusting relationships and to that extent represents real progress in international relations. Through its many subsidiary committees it has called attention to the large area of common interests which concern the nations and has developed techniques for working in these areas. But its futility has been more than apparent as it has attempted to deal with crises that have developed between nations, because no vital change has taken place in the thinking of nations or peoples as regards the nation-state and its place in the community of nations. Nations as personalized groups representing egoism writ large still confront one another across the conference table at Geneva as in all the international relationships of modern times. Statesmen are still bound at Geneva to consider the vital interests of their own nation as of primary importance. People as people are not represented at Geneva but governments as governments, and the governments of modern states are, what we have already found them to be, vast egoisms, over which ordinary ethical

considerations have little control. It must be recognized that the formation of the League has done little to mitigate the evils of absolute national sovereignty and consequently, as the event has shown, offers no adequate solution of the problem of war and peace.

In any discussion of the peace efforts of the last few years note must be made of important studies in the field of economics and the many suggestions which have grown out of these for alleviation of economic inequalities. The work of the International Labor Office at Geneva has also far-reaching significance. It is obviously impossible to discuss the full implications of these important developments. It is undoubtedly true that permanent peace is impossible unless a solution of the economic problem is found. Nations must have free access to raw materials and must enjoy economic security. Nevertheless, the basic problems are not economic but spiritual. Any attempt to resolve the existing world chaos by an attack on economic problems alone, leaving unchanged the ideas motivating action today in the international field, will be doomed to failure. A real solution can be found only as a reorientation of ideas takes place and a new moral climate is created. Once this is achieved the atmosphere

will then be favorable to a solution of economic inequalities. In a world organized as a federal unit the problem of raw materials and the free exchange of goods could be more readily solved. It may be, of course, that, as in the American Union, the necessity of a solution of the economic problem may serve as a gateway into a world political federation. But the fact remains that along with an attack upon the economic problems there must be a facing of the political realities of the world situation and the ideas that lie back of them.

In addition to the instruments already being utilized in the international field, in an attempt to meet the situation created by the state of anarchy which now exists among the states, there are many peace efforts being put forth by people in the various nations that call for consideration. An adequate study of the various peace movements which have developed in the last decades is obviously impossible within the limits of this book. Passing reference to the ideas which are embodied in some of them is all that is practicable. Among these the most important and significant is that which is commonly called the "pacifist" position. Narrowly defined, the word is applied to those who refuse to participate in war primarily for reasons

of conscience but also in the belief that such a refusal is an effective method of bringing about the abolition of war. In its broader meaning, the word signifies something deeper than mere refusal to bear arms. It means reliance on spiritual forces, such as good-will and a sense of justice, for the obtaining of security, peace and economic and political well-being. In this sense the pacifist position has a positive side and may, and indeed does in some cases, call for an aggressive program for readjustments in the interests of peace, including definite efforts for world organization. In its broader interpretation pacifism becomes a powerful motivating force for constructive peace efforts, but it needs to be pointed out that pacifism in the limited sense of conscientious objection to war, as logical and Christian as the idea is, can never solve the war problem.

There are several reasons for this. One is that it seeks to solve a political problem on ethical lines alone. The limitations of the purely ethical in a political community have already been pointed out.<sup>22</sup> Some political organization is required in any community not only to se-

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<sup>22</sup> See page 97 for this discussion. It should be made clear that it is not the work of any organization that is being considered above, but the limitations of the idea of conscientious objection to war as a means of solving the war problem.

cure orderly arrangements but to care for the marginal individual or group to be found in any community that is not ethically controlled. The pacifist believes that if enough people can be found who accept the Christian idea of non-resistance or of non-participation in the immoral war system, nations cannot go to war and the problem of war and peace will be solved. But, if nations do not go to war what then? Does it follow that because there are enough people who hate war and will have nothing to do with it that justice between nations will reign and right be ensured? Are we not bound to go further and prepare some political instruments that will make it possible to carry on the business of common life in the world on a basis of justice and right? In other words, at the same time that we refuse to participate in unethical practice are we not bound as Christians to propose a practice that will be ethical, since we must recognize that a community of the most ethically minded people in the world is bound to require some political machinery with which to conduct its life in an orderly manner? It is not enough to refuse on ethical grounds to take part in unethical political practice unless we are ready at the same time to propose some posi-

tive program for a political practice which will be ethical.

Another reason for the inadequacy of the pacifist position is that it singles out for protest one terribly unethical aspect of a system which is radically unethical at the heart and center of its life. It thus deflects thinking from the basic problem, and confuses the real issue. It is necessary for the pacifist, having called attention in a forthright way to the iniquity of war, which is an integral part of the system of sovereign nation-states and a direct outgrowth and inescapable counterpart of that system, to go one step further and face the problem of reorientation required in bringing that system into conformity with basic Christian principles. It is only fair to say that many have already done this. In fact, probably few pacifists are merely pacifists. They are found in the forefront of many types of peace activity. The point that is being emphasized here is that pacifism by itself cannot be expected to do away with war.

Reinhold Niebuhr in an article entitled *Pacifism Against the Wall*, in the *American Scholar* in the Spring of 1926, makes the point that pacifism "is not compatible with political responsibility." In the one case it is apocalyptic. It sets uncompromising love and non-re-

sistance in sharp juxtaposition to the relatives of the economic and political order and assumes no responsibility for the latter; or it is ascetic in that "it does not deny that the actual world is one of conflict between egoistic impulses or that the business of politics is to reduce this conflict to some kind of equilibrium of balanced egoistic forces. It merely insists that such equilibriums are not free from the 'sin' of egoism or the peril of conflict. . . . In either case it is not compatible with political responsibility."

The Christian must assume some responsibility not only for taking a personal stand on grounds that are ethical but also for seeking a political organization which has at least some relationship to the Christian position; for it is organization that gives effect to the ethical life in community and an unethical organization deflects life from ethical channels and makes it difficult or impossible to be Christian. Unless we are to accept the position that nothing is to be done about social organization and the only thing we can do is to save our own souls through flight from the world to the inner life, we are bound to face the task of the reorientation required to bring our world political mechanisms into some harmony with Christian ideas. The Christian whether in social, economic or po-



litical problems can ill afford to deal with symptoms. It is contrary to the nature of Christianity to do so. Christianity is "radical realism," and must deal with the center and not the periphery of life. Now, if thought is focused on the sin of war without facing the basic problem of unlimited national sovereignty, we are guilty of dealing with the periphery rather than the heart of the difficulty.

Dr. Albert W. Palmer in the *Christian Century* of June 7, 1939 states this position. "But the other thing which has happened to my thinking is that, curiously enough, while personally a pacifist, in practical philosophy I have also become increasingly convinced that pacifism is not enough! I feel sure that the basic world problem is the tension between the necessity for planetary economic unity which modern applied science and our resulting industrialized civilization requires, on the one hand, and the anachronism of fifty-odd independent national sovereignties, on the other, each economically inadequate but with full power to erect customs barriers and wage war."

As has been said, consideration of economic problems alone, in conference or otherwise, without considering the idea of independent national sovereignty is probably as futile as pacif-

ism alone. It must of course be recognized that it is equally true that an attempt at a solution of the problem of war and peace which does not take account of economic factors is also futile. It may be that the problem of world government can best be approached through an attack upon the economic problem. Dr. L. P. Jacks in *Co-operation Or Coercion?* makes such a proposal. Despairing of a direct attack on the problem of national sovereignty, he proposes an application of the principle of mutual insurance to international affairs. Through a reduction in armaments he would secure an international fund administered by a board of international trustees to be used in the stabilization of currencies, the lowering of tariffs, the financing of the distribution of raw materials and the promoting of international social services. Through the resulting habit of international cooperation in mutually advantageous ways, progress would be made in the direction of world organization. Other proposals for meeting existing economic inequalities and for resolving national rivalries have been made, but any proposals which in essence leave the idea of national sovereignty unmodified cannot be expected to resolve the existing international anarchy. As Christians we must beware of

proposing solutions that do not touch basic ideas, for it is in the realm of "world view" that Christianity can make its real contribution. It is important to consider economic problems as they affect international life, but, it is of very little value to consider the economic issues apart from the ideological. The Christian appeal is the appeal to basic principles; what must be discovered are the ideas behind our modern world organization, how these square with Christian principles, and what reorientation is required in order to bring organization into harmony with the basic laws of life as they are revealed in the Christian faith. "An appeal to principles is the condition of any considerable reconstruction of society, because social institutions are the visible expression of the scale of moral values which rules the minds of individuals, and it is impossible to alter institutions without altering that moral valuation."<sup>23</sup>

Clarence Streit in *Union Now* has made a proposal of major importance. This calls for the federation of the fifteen democracies of the world into a federal government based on the peoples of those nations and organized on the principles of the American Union of States.

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<sup>23</sup> Tawney, *Acquisitive Society*, N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, Inc., page 3. Used by permission.

While the organization at the outset is to include only those nations where the principles of the Bill of Rights of the American Constitution are in practice, the ultimate aim is to include all the nations of the world. The people of any nation are to be admitted to the Federation at any time on the basis of an acceptance of the Bill of Rights. The interest which this plan has evoked is encouraging to those who believe that world government is the only live option, open to the world, which offers any hope of saving modern civilization. This may be the way that such a government should come into being. The only fear is lest the admission at the outset that a universal world government is impractical, and the attempt to organize into a federation only such nations as accept a particular form of government would result in little more than the extension of the system of collective security, and would bring about the division of the world into two great opposing blocs of powers, the one organized on the federal principle, the other making use of the older system of alliances. The principle that nothing short of a universal world government offers a satisfactory world solution needs to be carefully safeguarded. Max Huber states the problem involved: "A peace community which, although

extensive, is not universal, and, existing alongside of powerful states, may indeed prevent numerous possibilities of conflict, but cannot in principle alter the political structure of the world of nations. It might even, by furthering the concentration of states in a few powerful—for instance continental—groups, strengthen the dynamic of inter-state relations.”<sup>24</sup> Instead of a continental peace bloc Mr. Streit’s proposal, if carried out, would be likely to result in a bloc of the democratic powers. This would tend to have the unfortunate result suggested by Mr. Huber.

A number of current suggestions for solving the problem of war and peace have been considered. It remains now to examine the statement of purpose of a few of our peace organizations. These have been taken more or less at random as examples of the kind of thing we are now trying to do in our efforts for peace.

“Definition: To create and organize enlightened public opinion against war.” National Council for the Prevention of War.

“Definition: To work for the abolition of war, arbitration, complete and universal disar-

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<sup>24</sup> Huber, Max, *The Universal Church and the World of Nations*, Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, page 116. Quoted by permission.

mament, free trade and world wide fellowship." Women's Peace Society.

"Definition: Abolition of war by means of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, taking from Congress the power to declare war and to prepare for war." Women's Peace Union.

"Definition: To help in eliminating war at any price and place arbitration in its place." World League for Permanent Peace.

"Definition: To promote permanent international peace through justice; to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world." American Peace Society.

"Definition: To promote international friendship and world peace through the Churches." Church Peace Union.

"Definition: To promote peace sentiment; to educate the women of the affiliated organizations to work most effectively together towards a common end." National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.

It will be seen that there are certain assumptions back of these statements. Viewed as a

group there are at least five of these assumptions: that the problem is one of conciliation in the settlement of disputes; that what is needed is the promotion of friendship and a public opinion for peace; that disarmament will solve the problem; that war could be stopped if the power to decide for or against war were returned to the people; that the real problem is justice and right to be obtained through law and judicial methods of administering it. Admirable as these aims are none of the assumptions back of them comes to grips with the real problem. As a peace method, they share the limitations of law and of the method of conciliation and arbitration and the way of disarmament.

The idea that war would be stopped, at least so far as our nation is concerned, if the power to declare war were returned to the people, has great weight with many groups. This method of avoiding war starts from a hopelessly fragmentary view of the world which thinks only of saving America from the horrors of war. It fails to recognize that in a closely knit world such as ours it is no longer possible to consider the interests of any one country in isolation. This proposal carries the further assumption that whether war is chosen as the method of

altering the status quo or not is a matter of arbitrary choice, whereas the actual fact is that war is so essential a part of the system of sovereign states that it is the inevitable result. The will of the people in a democracy must of course be enlisted for a war before it is entered upon, but, since it is inherent in the existing world anarchy, in the emergency that arises the will of a people is quickly galvanized for war. The change in the temper of the British people in the last year or so is the most recent example of this. John Macmurray in *The Clue to History* states this fact in connection with his development of the thesis that "the reality of human life is action, not thought." Apart from the thesis which he presents, the fact cannot be denied: "We can debate and scheme and organize for peace; but we can only act for war. By our own will we have created a world-wide automatism of material life, which is 'external' to our minds and which our reason cannot control. And the automatism of the structure is reflected in the automatism of the impulses which control our action. So the more urgently we plan for peace and seek to secure peace by 'reasonable' methods—by agreements and persuasion, and diplomacy and debate and resolutions and analysis and proposals, by all the forms of talking



and writing which are the limits of pure spirit—the more we produce an automatic inevitability of war.”<sup>25</sup> So long as the ideas that lie back of the system of independent sovereign states remains intact, it is as futile to expect to solve the problem of war and peace by popular vote of the people of any one nation as to attempt to hold back the waters of the Colorado River with a dam of sand.

In June of this year (1939) the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches issued a statement which is illustrative of the current thinking on the problem of peace. The statement “affirms the essential unity of mankind” and states that “religious people must reaffirm the solidarity of all peoples.” It speaks of the “family of nations” and asserts that “the religious concept of life upholds the ideal of a world organized by means of cooperation and good will.” It further states that “the claims of individual states must be settled in accordance with the rights of all peoples.” It also declares that “there will be anarchy so long as sovereign states claim to be the sole judges of disputes in which they are

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<sup>25</sup> Macmurray, John, *The Clue to History*, N. Y.: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, pages 235 and 236. Quoted by permission.

involved." But, at the same time, it "maintains the right of every nation to live its own life, of every people to self-determination, of every state to independent existence." It views war as "the great enemy of mankind," "because it leads to international anarchy and to exploitation of man by man." Now how do we expect to have a world in which the idea of the family of nations and the solidarity of all peoples is to be the ruling concept and leave intact the right of every people to the self-determination of its independent existence, for from that right flows naturally the right to self-preservation as a primary right, the right then to judge what is in the vital interest of the particular state that is being preserved, the sub-ethical means for maintaining those interests and all that is involved in the idea of unlimited national sovereignty. A deeper analysis of this idea of self-determination is required. Prof. William E. Hocking in *The Spirit of World Politics* points out what this spirit really means: "The world has not yet seen the end of the toll of blood spilled and occasions wasted because of the pursuit by 'hard-headed men of action' of the purely fantastic goal of pure independence, Sinn-Feinism, Ourselves-Alone-ism, such as can

no longer exist on this planet.”<sup>26</sup> It is quite a different thing to speak of a federated world in which each nation brings its own heritage and places it at the service of the whole. This does not involve, as we have seen, a loss of nationality, but it does involve the submerging of certain rights in a common governmental machinery in the highest interest of each national group. It is the failure to perceive this basic fact that leads to statements about war as the “enemy of mankind” and as “leading to international anarchy.” It is not war that is the enemy or that leads to anarchy, but it is the anarchy that is the real enemy and which leads to war.

The tragic world situation today urgently demands a more thoroughgoing analysis of the problem of war and peace, with concrete proposals for ending the existing international anarchy, produced by the sacrosanct doctrine of absolute national sovereignty. Christianity holds within it the key to the permanent solution of this problem. Christians can lead the way if they have the fearless courage to lay hold of their faith, the intellectual stamina to think

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<sup>26</sup> Hocking, Professor William E., *The Spirit of World Politics*, N. Y.: The Macmillan Company, page 163. Quoted by permission.

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creatively and the perseverance and tenacity to act wisely in the face of a narrow self-interest which tends to color all action. The world is faced with two alternatives, world chaos or world government. The Christian must not be content to leave the solution to others but must recognize his unique responsibility for averting the catastrophe on the brink of which the world stands.

## VI

### WHAT IS THE CHRISTIAN TO DO?

THE question that remains to be considered is at once the most important and the most difficult. If the Christian is convinced that a political world organization, which will substitute order for the anarchy existing in the growing area of common interest that lies between the states, is the basic necessity in the solution of the problem of war and peace, what can he do about it? Experts in political economy are needed to study the question of the type of organization required, how it shall be set up, what its functions should be and kindred problems. Public opinion favorable to world government must be moulded. The peculiar task which the Christian faces is a specific one and one which he alone can perform. The basic problem is one of ideas. It is a question of world view. The idea of absolute national sovereignty with the national egoisms which the doctrine clothes with sanctity must be replaced by the idea of a common humanity under God before world government is possible or workable. This is the faith that lies at the heart of Christianity

and the basic task in building a new international order therefore lies squarely on the shoulders of the Christian world.

If Christianity is to function it must retain its own faith in the universal. Without this it is of little more value in building an ordered world than Shintoism or Mohammedanism. "Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thence forth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men."<sup>1</sup> The "savour" of the Gospel is that it is true for all men, that Christ died for all; that God's love reaches out in Christ to Jew and Greek, bond and free; that in Him there is neither East nor West. This is the love that is the great, new commandment which came into the world with Christ. But, it is this aspect of our faith which, in practice, is most easily lost. In one sense, it may be said that the history of the Christian religion is a history of the struggle of this idea of the universality of God and the brotherhood of all men against the pagan idea of the privilege and glory of the particular race or clan. These two ideas grappled in the Old Testament. They grappled in the early Christian Church. It was a turning point in

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. 5:13.

Christian history when it was decided that "the Gentiles . . . should hear the word of the Gospel. . . ." <sup>2</sup> and that it was their right and privilege to enter the Christian fellowship as Gentiles; that they need not first become Jews; that the basic thing was their humanity and not their race.

But this issue was not settled once for all at Jerusalem. It has been a live issue ever since and is again the burning issue today. Christianity has not always come off victorious in this struggle. It seems fairly clear that the Nestorian Church in China failed to survive because of its compromise with the secular power of its day. It became a church within the nation and not a branch of a universal church with the result that it was "cast out" and "trodden under foot of men." The churches of the Near East are encysted groups with scant vitality because they have not been able to maintain their sense of universality against the crushing weight of an all-embracing culture. The struggle is going on at the present moment in Japan. Shall the Church become a group entirely within the framework of Japanese nationality and culture or shall it retain its faith in the universality of

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<sup>2</sup> The Acts 15:7.

the Gospel? This is the issue that is drawn in modern Japan.

This is also a live question in our own country, as it will be in every country of the modern world, so long as the present idea of the nation as the supreme good, whose interests are to be considered first to the exclusion of any other interest or the interest of any other group, is the ruling idea. The crux of the problem of church and state lies here. So long as there is no common political framework for the world of nations there is no alternative but for each state to protect its own interests. International anarchy can give it no security, and a feeling of security it must have. The nation, therefore, tends to become an absolute and to the extent that the Christian Church is Christian and makes humanity under God its only absolute, to that extent will it come in conflict with the modern state. It is a serious dilemma. Unless Christianity retains its universal character it can be of no use in modifying the international order, but so long as the present order exists, Christianity's insistence upon the universal becomes a direct challenge to the assumptions on which the modern state rests. This dilemma would be resolved if there were a world political government to provide for orderly change and to



take care of the common interests of all, because the tension would be relieved and the basic assumptions of nationalism would in fact be modified. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that the Christian Church not only retain its faith in the universal character of Christianity, but that it point out the implications of this universal faith for world government. In this way and only in this way ultimately can the conflict between church and state be lessened.

That this struggle between the gospel and the pagan ideas of the "divine" group or race is actually taking place today in America should be clear to any thinking person. The first task that confronts us therefore, is that of maintaining the idea of the universality of the Gospel in our own fellowship. The place to begin is in the local church. There should be no doubt in anyone's mind in any service of worship in a Christian Church that the Gospel is for all men. It would be very instructive to examine what goes on in the average church service in this country from this point of view. The presence of the American flag in the sanctuary seems a normal thing and quite innocuous. After all we are Americans and we are worshipping in an American Church. But, it is symbolic of something that runs very deep in the mind of the

average worshipper in the church and which is too rarely surmounted in the service of worship itself. It is the habit of mind that views all problems from within the framework of the nation; that looks out upon the world from within the confining walls of "my group" and "my nation." It is very rare indeed that even in a service of worship the nation as the field of reference is left behind for humanity and the world. Humanity and the world are frequently considered but from a point of view within the national framework, and not from the point of view of a universal brotherhood under God which makes of all men a unity.

"The Churches cannot hope to influence effectively the international situation as long as the understanding of the Church Universal, its nature and task, is lacking. Therefore it is the first task of the Churches to instruct their ministers and members in all countries as to the meaning of the ecumenical Church. Thus they will create the pre-suppositions for an ecumenical ethics, i.e., the understanding of all social, national and international problems from the point of view of the world-wide Christian brotherhood." <sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *The Churches and the International Crisis*, A Memorandum prepared by the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches, page 15.

The actual result of our preaching and our services of worship is most easily tested by the reaction of the average member of the church to the foreign missionary program. To take the very last instance of this common reaction that has come to my attention, a pastor of a church in the metropolitan district of New York said that his Sunday school had raised one hundred and twenty-five dollars for missionary work but that the Committee had voted that *it must be spent in this country*. The basis of the vote was not the need, which might well have made them decide to spend the money in this country, but the basis of the vote revealed the utter failure of Christianity to surmount the national framework and retain its essential character as a universal religion. We have become so accustomed to this reaction that we have not always seen its devastating significance. Even those who have supported the missionary movement in the past, have done so, often, from the standpoint of benevolent nationalism and not on the truer basis of a world-wide humanity, in which the American as well is included—all equally in need of God.

Another attitude that is very common among Christians today is the position that the religions of other nations are good enough for them

so why trouble to present Christianity to them. This may not be a very intelligent attitude, but it is so common that it must be considered. What underlies this idea is not primarily a theological question, but it is a simple reaction which indicates that Christian faith has done little to change the basic, emotional content of life. What this person means to say is that our nation is one thing, but other nations are quite different. This is the normal primitive reaction of the villager to whom the neighboring villager is a stranger and quite beyond the pale. It simply does not occur to a large number of Christians to group all men together as common sons of a common Father. They accept that intellectually perhaps in a vague sort of way, but emotionally it has never gripped them. The most important task which Christianity faces is to bring about in the individual Christian a new creation in Christ, for Christianity is so radical that it goes counter to much that is native to human nature as we know it in history. Only Christ can create a new creature. It is a miracle of grace when He comes into the life and displaces the self with all its individual and racial egoisms. A great new creation has occurred when a Kagawa can say, "I am first a Christian and then a Japanese," for these racial

and national inheritances are powerful and deeply entrenched in human nature. The Church needs above all today to be conscious of the problem involved in building in the life of the individual Christian the dynamic love of Christ which will eradicate racialism and nationalism and develop a universalism that can embrace all mankind.

One of the subtle temptations to blur this universality of our Christian faith through identification with the solely national comes to the Church in America in the current effort to undergird democracy. It is to be doubted if democracy is possible apart from the respect for the individual and the ethical conscience and the sense of responsibility on the part of the individual which Christianity produces. But the current effort to "save Democracy" is directly connected with the intensified conflict of interest among modern nation-states and this becomes, in effect, the defense of America and her interests against the threatening encroachments of other national interests. Thus President Roosevelt in his address before Congress in January 1939 spoke of the defense of democracy in much the same terms as might be used in speaking of the defense of the vital interests of America. What has happened is that

the growing demand of a unified world that nations come together on a world scale for the good of humanity as a whole, together with the interacting pressures of rival nationalisms, has provoked an intensified resistance on the part of the national egoisms enshrined in the various nation-states of the world. The struggle to maintain, through isolation and a self-contained economy, the divine right of each nation to self-determination of its own interests against the thrust of a world that is rapidly becoming unified has resulted in the crystallization of differing ways of life into highly emotionalized dogmas. These dogmas are the latest manifestation of the tendency to personalize the vast ego that is the nation-state.

That one nation should have a way of life that differs in many respects from the way of life of another is part of the justification for the creation of separate nations and races. It is thus that the life of humanity is enriched. The reduction of all life to the dead level of one nationality or one way of life would represent a distinct loss. There should be room for experimentation and for each national group to make its own unique contribution. But that these different ways of life should become "ideologies," which are to be extended by conquest

that others may be brought under their beneficent sway or defended by force against other differing ideologies, is symptomatic of something that runs deeper than these differing ideas themselves. These national dogmas are but the crystallization of the drive of national self-interest. The way of life of one national group comes to stand over against the other in sharp contrast because the one national group stands over against the other. The ideas are in sharp competition because the self-interest of the nations stand over against each other in sharp competition. The intensity with which these dogmas are proclaimed by the leaders of a state reveals the degree of resistance that has been developed within that state to the pressure of the world for integration. It reveals the intensity with which that state is in uncontrolled pursuit of its own self-interest as against the interests of other states or of humanity as a whole.

In a local community families may follow quite different ideas in their private living but there is little effort to clothe these differing ways of life with the sanctity of a dogma which should be propagated or forced upon others. Similarly, there is no necessity of defending this way of life against the ways of other families in the community and certainly no thought of

defense by the use of force. This is not required because the family has been integrated into the larger unit of the city or state. It is not in a position of rebellion against the demands of community life on a wider scale. It is left free to follow its own way so long as that does not conflict with the larger interest of the community.

But the modern state is struggling to maintain the right not only to live its own way but to do as it chooses in all matters whatsoever. It is in rebellion against integration into the world community; it makes itself an absolute and consequently its way of life must also become an absolute which must be defended, if necessary, by force.

The Church, therefore, in democratic America must be careful to distinguish between the universal principles of Christianity which undergird democracy and need to be inculcated for their own sake and the defending of "Democracy" as the personification of the state. We prefer the way of democracy, we believe that it is the way of life which most nearly conforms to Christian ideals, but when we are called upon to *defend Democracy* we must take care lest we be caught up into this war of ideologies, which is the modern form of the struggle between the



self-interests of nation-states. The universality of Christianity is at stake and if that be lost the religion of Jesus becomes savourless salt to be thrown out and trodden under foot.

The temptation which the Church confronts in the call to defend democracy is symptomatic of the general situation. It does not take much acumen to see that as America has been growing more self-conscious as a nation, and as the state has tended to take a larger place in the life and thinking of the people, the concept of a Christianity that is for all the world has become dimmer. What we have not recognized is that this corrosive will not merely change the face of Christianity and give it a duller finish, but it will eat to the very heart of religion itself and leave us nothing but the shell. Christianity has no meaning if it is Christianity for one nation alone or even for one nation first and supremely. It only has meaning as it begins with God in Christ, who died for all men. The first thing, then, that the Christian can do is to see to it that this corrosive of nationalism shall not any further invade the Church.

This is absolutely vital if anything is to be done, for if the one group in society dedicated to the faith that human values are above national values abandons this faith, in the face of

the growing fanaticism of our modern national faiths, there is no base from which to start in a modification of the idea of absolute national sovereignty. But the Christian must go further than this. He must put these universals to work, not only that they may be kept alive but that they may do the work for which they are intended, the saving of the world from destroying itself. It is doubtful if a world state can ever be successfully organized until there is what the Oxford Conference called, "a common ethos." The moral climate suitable to world organization must be produced or it cannot come into being and would not be able adequately to function if it did. There must be at least an active minority in each country who are motivated by those universals that lie at the heart of Christianity or the climate suitable for the life of world political organization cannot exist. In other words, unless there is the idea that there really is a God who governs the world; that there is a common humanity under Him; that man finds his highest realization in fellowship; that the uncontrolled pursuit of self-interest defeats its own ends and that the redemptive principle of self-giving for the good of mankind gives life—unless these ideas are accepted by at least a vital minority in the vari-

ous countries of the world, world organization is quite impractical. Ideas must have an organizational framework in which to function but a political organization, which is not based on ideas that are vital to at least some among those who are within its sphere of action, is not likely to last for long.

Now, while the process of making the world a physical neighborhood has gone on—a process which has made an anachronism of the division of the world into fifty or sixty absolute authorities—under the Providence of God, another process has been going forward which holds the key to the new situation which has arisen, viz.—the world missionary movement. There are well organized virile groups of men and women in most of the national groupings of the world today who are bound by the common faith in a universal Christ. The task of building a moral climate suitable for world organization has been begun and it is this world fellowship of Christianity that offers the greatest hope amid the chaos of the modern world. Here we have at hand the greatest force for a new international world order that is available. It is a demonstration of the fact that in Christ all things hang together ("consist"). There is tremendous power in the fact that in the midst of war more

than four hundred representatives of the Christian Church from more than sixty national groups could meet as a common fellowship held together by their faith in Christ. Could anything be more eloquent than their confession of faith! "Our nations are at war with one another; but we know ourselves brethren in the community of Christ's Church. Our people increase in suspicion and fear of one another; but we are learning to trust each other more deeply through common devotion to the one Lord of us all. Our Governments build instruments of mutual destruction; we join in united action for the reconciliation of humanity. Thus, in broken and imperfect fashion, the Church is even now fulfilling its calling to be within itself a foretaste of the redeemed family of God which he has purposed humanity to be." <sup>4</sup> Considering the fact that this fellowship is made up of human beings swayed by human enmities related to their own communities and races, the remarkable thing is that the vision and organization, which made such a conference possible, are realities in our world. This fellowship will always be a halting thing so long as we have the framework of existing states which is sub-

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<sup>4</sup>*The World Mission of the Church, The Report of the Madras Conference.*

versive of its ideals. It can come to its full flower only in a political community which is in harmony with its vision.

The maintenance of this world fellowship serves in all lands to hold Christianity to its universality, and helps to keep it from becoming mere national Christianity. At the same time, it holds within it the implication of a political framework which will give concrete expression in the world of nations to the spiritual fellowship that it embodies. Perhaps the most practical thing that any Christian can do toward the solution of the problem of war and peace is to keep warm within himself his sense of the world fellowship of the Christian Church and to do what is at hand for him to do to strengthen this fellowship in other lands.

The world Christian fellowship is a powerful instrument at hand for creating a common world "ethos" upon which a world political organization can be built. But there are two things that are imperatively needed if world Christianity is to be effective in this task. In the first place, there must be a clear understanding of the difference in the implication of Christian faith for the individual and for society. It has been suggested in earlier chapters that the collective or social group is something quite

different from the sum of the individuals that go to make up the collective. The collective that is the state is something quite different and distinct from the aggregation of the individual members of the state. It is not enough, therefore, to bring the individual under the sway of Christ and Christian principles of living. The implications of the Christian faith for the group must be made as clear as are the implications of Christian faith for the individual. The individual Christian must be made aware of the sins of society as well as the sins of the individual. He must demand that the redemptive principle be applied to the state and to the world of states as well as to his own individual conduct. This is at once the task that confronts us in the older churches, and it is the task that confronts the missionary and the national Christians in the younger churches. If it is individualistic Christianity alone that is being established around the world, little can be expected from it in building a new world order. That this is not the case is evidenced by the adoption of the following statement at Madras. "It is not enough to say that if we change the individual we will of necessity change the social order. That is a half truth. For the social order is not entirely made up of individuals now living. It is made

up of inherited attitudes which have come down from generation to generation through customs, laws, institutions, and these exist in large measure independently of individuals now living. Change those individuals and you do not of necessity change the social order unless you organize those changed individuals into collective action in a wide-scale, frontal attack upon those corporate evils. Social change will come from individual change only when the content of social change is put within the concept and fact of individual change.”<sup>5</sup>

The other thing that must be done, if a world Christian fellowship is to be effective in furnishing the groundwork for a world political organization, is the mobilization of the Church for “collective action” towards such an organization. The individual Christian must understand what the Christian world view calls for in the way of a world government and these Christians need to unite in an effort to bring about this new world order. It has been pointed out that up to this point public opinion against war and in favour of peace has been comparatively ineffective. This has been true because in the world of nation states public opinion

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<sup>5</sup> *The World Mission of the Church*, Section on The Church and the Changing Social Order.

functions almost entirely within the air-tight compartment of each state. Experience has shown that the pressures of an interstate situation tend to overwhelm peace opinion within the single state. The comparative ineffectiveness of peace opinion is also due to the fact that this opinion has not been directed to the central problem and has not been organized to grapple with the basic difficulty. What needs to be done is for the world Christian fellowship to become clearly conscious of the implications of the Christian faith for world order and, within each nation and across national lines, to work definitely for the realization of a political world government.

Missionaries round the world in their attack upon the basic problem of human welfare are closely in touch with humble people and have the opportunity to interchange ideas and purposes. This offers to them a very remarkable opportunity to make a contribution in this area. Their thinking must be linked up with this whole movement for a better world order.

The Foreign Missions Conference of North America in a statement that deserves wide attention has put its weight solidly behind the movement for world organization. The statement is too long to quote in full. After stating the im-



plications of Christian convictions for the world of nations the statement says: "Cooperation among the nations for the building of agencies to maintain order and promote peaceful change is desperately needed. But such cooperation is impracticable until states become responsible members of a community of nations under government and subject to law. This requires a new spirit of reconciliation in nations and a willingness to make sacrificial mutual concessions in the interests of the common good of all. Some international organizations for resolving conflicts peacefully and equitably have existed and still exist but they have not accomplished the purposes for which they were created because of the sin of national selfishness, expressed dominantly in an insistence upon the maintenance of unqualified national sovereignty.

"The need for a change in spirit and in national policy is imperative. Without it international relations are progressively degenerating into deeper chaos with its inevitable wars, which make no fundamental solutions of any problem.

"The Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America therefore affirms the general principles stated above and commends them, with those expressed in the parallel statement of the Execu-

tive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, adopted June 3, 1938, to the constituent boards of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, urging them to make a careful study of these problems and to endeavor in every way possible to create a more vivid awareness among their board members, their constituent churches, and their workers at home and abroad, that the necessity for orderly and just government among nations as well as within them is implicit in the Christian world view." <sup>6</sup>

A few paragraphs from the statement adopted by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America above referred to should also be quoted here.

"We therefore urge upon our own nation, and suggest to other Christian bodies to urge upon their respective nations, the modification of policies of exclusive national selfishness. No nation has a right to be a law unto itself, or the sole judge of its own cause. The claim to that right is the basis of the present anarchy in the community of nations. The abandonment of that claim involves the modification of the concept of absolute national sovereignty.

"The need for this change in spirit and national policy is imperative. Without it, international re-

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<sup>6</sup> Pamphlet, *The Alternative to International Anarchy*.

lations will progressively degenerate into chaos with its inevitable war which solves no problems fundamentally. It is therefore incumbent upon the churches, whose duty it is to proclaim principles and to influence motives, to urge upon our people and our government the necessity of leading the world into a better day by challenging the policy of national aloofness and selfishness and declaring our willingness to cooperate with other nations in the building of an orderly world community.

"We call upon the churches to give immediate and serious attention to these problems and to study especially what kind of world order is consistent with the Christian view of the world and nations."<sup>6</sup>

It is imperative that this demand of the Christian world view for the modification of absolute national sovereignty and the creation of a world political organization be brought out into the open by the Christian Church in all lands. This must be done not only that order may be substituted for chaos on a world scale but that essential Christianity may be preserved. Unless the individual Christian in each country has a clear picture of what his faith means in this particular, as has been indicated, there is grave danger that the Church will lose its truly

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<sup>6</sup> Pamphlet, *The Alternative to International Anarchy*.

ecumenical character and degenerate into a series of national churches. Should this occur it would be fatal for Christianity. More than that, the world Christian fellowship would fail to meet the opportunity which is presented to it to give hope for order to a world bent on self-destruction. It would be tragic if the faith in the universality of Christianity is dimmed at the very moment that Christians are becoming aware that there actually is a world-wide Christian Church. That God is the Father of all men is the supreme fact of Christianity and if, in practice, the members of our churches substitute for this faith the racial or the national viewpoint, the world fellowship will cease to be a fact that is of any vital importance to the world of nations.

If we are to have a world Christian fellowship that is to be really effective in building a world order the Christian group in many a country will need to be strengthened. Where the group which holds a Christian world view is in too small a minority, even though that group may be solidly organized and may possess great vitality, it is in constant danger of being overwhelmed by its environment. The Christians in those lands where Christianity is more solidly rooted in life must assume the

responsibilities of the Christian fellowship. Young men and women must continue to live their lives in the name of Christ in other lands than their own in an effort to enlarge and strengthen the Christian group which has already been established there. There is danger that we leave the work of helping to create the world Christian fellowship—a work that has been so well begun—in the middle of the job. We have brought the load up the hill just so far. It is the push up the last few rods to the top that is the most difficult; but if we do not stick with it until the top is reached, the load will be likely to slip back to the bottom, and we shall have to do the whole job over again. There are signs of weariness in the Church today, but if we can see the deeper significance of what is being done, we may gain new strength for the last hard pull to the top. May we not say that on the completion of this task hangs the fate of modern civilization? The anarchy of the world of nations must give place to political world government or recurring wars will threaten to destroy civilized life; world government must be grounded in a world view which has the acceptance of at least a vital minority of the peoples of the various nations; the world movement of Christianity has begun to create

such a common world view across existing national lines. The challenge that the Church faces today, therefore, is the task of making real this dream of a world Christian community which shall have as its counterpart and expression a world political organization.

The World Student Christian Federation should be developed as a training ground for leaders in building a new world order. The Student Movement is a warm fellowship across national boundaries. In its great conferences it brings together the future leaders of the Christian movement in many lands. It has continued to maintain contact among students in warring areas. The work done in maintaining contact between students in Japan and China, for example, has been most remarkable. The modern missionary movement in its beginnings got its challenge from the students. Again and again it has been the young men and women who have led the Church into a new vision.

It is to be hoped that out of this Movement will come the new type of missionary which is needed. There can be no change in basic purpose, namely, that of definite enlistment for Christ. Unless the individual has been recreated in Him, a world Christian fellowship will be but a rope of sand. But no missionary

should approach his task today without an understanding of the deeper meaning of the fellowship which he is helping to create. What is needed are missionaries in international relations, men and women who see the deeper significance for world order of Christianity and the ecumenical church. There should be institutes of Christian international relations associated, if possible, with theological training schools where missionaries could be trained for definite work in this field. It is encouraging to note that one such institute is being considered in connection with Yale Divinity School. This need of a new type of missionary was recognized at the Swarthmore Meeting of the Foreign Missions Conference as the following resolutions will indicate:

"That the Committee on International Relations and World Peace be requested to see that more preparation be given to missionaries in the realm of the ecumenical movement and of international and inter-racial relations, both before the first term of service on the field and during furlough.

"That the Committee be requested to see that the subject of the contribution of the missionary to peaceable and just international relations be

made one of the topics for discussion at the annual conferences of outgoing missionaries.

"That the Committee endeavor to discover missionaries who show aptitude and interest in the field of international relations and seek to develop this interest through conference with the boards. This will involve, among other things, appropriate study during furlough and assignments on the field which will enable the missionary to utilize that interest and that training." <sup>7</sup>

If we here are to measure up to the truly staggering responsibility of helping to bring the current world view and its attendant organizations into harmony with the Christian world view, the world movement of Christianity must be put back into the heart of the Church's life. It is apparent to anyone that, for the most part, it is today an "interest" within the Church; it is really not the Church rising up from the very center of its being and life to make a universal Christ universally known. It is the quite general impression that the Board or Society is carrying on the work abroad and is seeking the support of the Church for it, whereas the real position should be that the Church *demand*s

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<sup>7</sup> "Putting Madras into Action" Report of Foreign Missions Conference of North America, June 1939.



that the work be carried on and creates the Board to see that it is done efficiently. Our highly specialized missionary agencies have tended to "cushion" for the ordinary member of the Church the sense of responsibility for hastening the creation of the world Christian community. Furthermore, it is probable that it is a minority group within the Churches that is actually concerned about the world mission of Christianity. Some way must be found to obviate this difficulty for, as has already been said, we find ourselves today with the urgent necessity for a common world view across the world; we have a solid foundation already established on which to build, but just as we are urgently called upon to complete the superstructure we find the world view slipping from the minds of the very ones who began the building. The missionary movement must be put back into the central life of the Church. For unless it springs from the inner conviction of a church that is dedicated to the universality of the Christian Gospel it has little more to say to a secularized and particularized world than any high type of ethical humanism. The world can not be saved from chaos by a nationalized Christianity any more than by a frankly nationalistic religion such as Shintoism.

It has not been customary to regard the world mission of the Church as having any relation to the problem of war and peace. If what has been said in this book has any validity, it would appear that the world Christian fellowship and the ecumenical movement have a major responsibility for building an orderly world. If this is to be done, the Christian must first of all re-examine his own faith lest he lose the sense of the universality of the Gospel. He must realise in his own life the fact of a world Christian fellowship. The fact that he is a Christian means that he is responsible for extending that fellowship and for seeing that it is broadly based on the universal character of the faith. This calls for a reorientation in Christian thinking which may be difficult to achieve, but which is imperative not only that Christianity may meet the challenge of the modern world but also that it may preserve its own essential life. "Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done, in earth as it is in Heaven."

## VII

SEPTEMBER 1, 1939

ONCE again men are marching. Twenty-five years ago a world war destroyed an easy optimism. Today there is little optimism to destroy. In the last few years there has been a black-out of hope. Men have become resigned to the inevitable consequences of competitive nationalism. Twenty-five years ago no one believed that a war would be possible. September the first, nineteen thirty-nine, found people saying that the war has to come some time, we might as well get on with it now.

When the "war to end war" closed, idealism, instead of being crushed, was released and humanity eagerly set about the task of building a new world order through international organization. What men failed to realize at that time was that the Versailles Treaty contained the seeds of future conflict and that the League of Nations could not prevent another war, because both alike were grounded in the principles of power politics and animated by national self-interest. The ideas motivating the actions of nations remained unchanged. Mankind had

learned to hate war but had not learned that national egoisms must be surrendered if war is to be averted. The emphasis on the self-determination of peoples should have given a clue to the selfish realities embedded in the motives that lay behind action, but the old ideas were too strongly entrenched and their full implications were not understood.

The real springs of action behind the League became increasingly apparent as it failed to bring about a better international situation. The League's failure, resulting primarily from the nation-centered ideas on which it was founded, brought about an accentuation of these very ideas. Instead of a recognition of the interdependence of nations and a surrender of prerogatives on behalf of the common welfare of humanity, there was a more aggressive insistence on national self-interest. Force, which was all the time implicit in the unaltered theory of the nation-state, became openly recognized as the only recourse in international affairs. The realization by the common man that his happiness and welfare had again to be sacrificed to what seemed to be the inevitable course of human events accounts for the hopelessness with which September the first was greeted.

War in Europe has again given tragic em-

phasis to the real anarchy in world affairs. It has brought into clear focus the utter immorality of the current world view.

There is no way to avoid these constantly recurring wars until there is a new orientation in the underlying ideas which are the springs of action in our world. None of the peoples now engaged in this devastating struggle wanted war. The German people were convinced that *Der Fuehrer* would not lead them into war; the people of Britain and France embarked upon the policy of preparation for resistance, which led directly into the war itself, not because they wanted war but because, confronted with the aggressive egoism of the German State, this seemed for them the only course to follow. Peace opinion in Germany was never able to merge with peace opinion in England and France, and the other countries of the world, to become a world opinion for peace. Great personalized group authorities—not peoples—confronted one another across national boundaries. The group within each respective boundary became something different and distinct from all else and everything else was shut out as beyond the pale. It was not humanity but the nation or race that decided the issue. It was Germany's inherent right to decide what

was in her own interest. The nation-state idea with its dogma of absolute national sovereignty—an idea which has dominated the modern world—made it not only unnecessary but positively immoral to consider the interests of Englishmen or Frenchmen or Poles or humanity outside Germany. To protect the interests of the Third Reich was the mission for which her leaders were responsible to whatever gods the new leadership of Germany recognizes. But England and France were on no different basis. They were compelled to concede this right, as a right, to Germany because they likewise retained that right for themselves. Irrespective of the merits of each case, or the justice of either side in the struggle, the essential point is that basically there is no difference in the philosophies of modern states and, when apparent rights conflict and these rights cannot be safeguarded through old line secret diplomacy or by the public bluster and threat of modern diplomacy, the only arbitrament is war. There is nothing in what has happened to negate the fact that what we actually have in the world of nations is a state of anarchy. No political instrument exists to which the nations have delegated any part of their absolute national sovereignty, consequently each nation must fol-

low what it considers to be its own vital interests. This is anarchy, and anarchy is reaping again its terrible toll of blood.

Furthermore, is there any doubt now that the differing ideologies of the nations which have been emphasized so strongly are anything more than a new type of personification of the national ego? England was quite ready to line up with Russia in the protection of her own interests even though the ideologies of the two countries had been set over against each other. This would have meant an alliance of the Russian Communism *Person* with the British Democracy *Person*. In other words, the important thing is not the particular way of life that had been erected into a sort of dogma, but the important thing is the personalized national group and the balance of power. The *Nazi German Person* is now aligned with the *Communist Russian Person*. The particular form that personalized nationalism has taken is not important. The important thing is the personalized nation and its weight in the balance of power in Europe. In putting Nazism over against Communism Germany was simply putting the national interests of Germany over against the interests of another state. Nazism and Communism in reality had very little to do, with it, as has been

shown in the present alliance between Germany and Russia. Similarly in defending Democracy England was and is defending England and England's vital interests. Raw self-interest must be couched in spiritual terms to gain the support of the masses today. The varying ideologies of the nations serve to galvanize the people into a group prepared to support the national interest. The better instincts of men demand ideals and these instincts are being prostituted in all our countries through the use of ideological dogmas in the service of national egoism.

It is highly important for us in America to recognize that basically there is no difference in our attitude from that of the European powers. We are busily engaged in finding where the vital interests of the United States lie. The avowed aim of neutrality legislation is to protect our own interests without regard to the interests of other nations or peoples. This is the "duty" of our President and the members of Congress. This is the "duty" of any statesman in the service of any state. Quite frequently in the heat of public discussion the idea of the protection of democracy drops out of the picture and the idea of the protection of our vital interests, which is in fact the real issue, is brought out into the open. The hypocrisy lies in the con-



tention that we are different from the European powers. They are always warring, but we do not believe in war, runs the argument. As a matter of fact one out of every ten days in our history from the Revolutionary War to the present day has been spent in war. For the most part we have kept out of active participation in the contentions of Europe not because we do not have the same ideas with regard to national sovereignty and the protection of national interest as have the other powers in the world, but because of our geographical position. We are making much of the idea that we here must keep intact "an area of sanity in a world gone insane." But since when have we been less insistent than any other power that we shall be the judge of what is best for us without let or hindrance on the part of any other nation in the world? We have been even more zealous in the protection of this absolute freedom of action than other powers for most of them entered the League of Nations. Our position contributes just as effectively to the anarchy of modern international affairs as does the position of any other power. Our "sanity" is the sanity of geographical isolation and not the sanity of a different idea of the nation and the place of the nation in the world.

The fact remains that so far as the ideas that lie back of the nation-state are concerned we are completely in agreement with the other nations of the world. We have stated our faith that "*all* men are created free and equal" but this which began as a universal in the French Revolution has been particularized and applied only to the people within our own boundaries. We as a nation are as much in rebellion against the Christian faith in a God who is concerned not about us alone but about all humanity, as is any other modern state. And the further fact remains that so long as we persist in this idea our own vital interests sooner or later will bring us, if not into this war, into some other war just as the conflict of national interests has brought the nations of Europe to war.

Nevertheless, the situation is not without hope. In the political field the past twenty-five years have brought their fruit in the tragic realization of the inadequacy of existing machinery for an orderly world. Other forces have been at work. As it began to dawn on the minds of men that the World War had not achieved its idealistic objective, the revolt of the human spirit against the stupidity and horror of war took form in various protest movements advocating peace. The chief result of these has been

to explore various ways in which an active program for the maintenance of peace could be developed.

The disillusionment of the period which is immediately behind us has not been without its value. It has compelled peace forces to a more searching examination of proposals for peace. It has become increasingly clear that mere revulsion to war is not enough; that the causes of war must be found and organization developed to provide for orderly change in world affairs. What seems to be discernible, after twenty-five years of experience, is a groping toward world political government. The National Peace Conference on September 6, 1939 adopted as one of the points in a six-point program to be recommended to its thirty-nine national member organizations "a permanent world government as the basis of peace and security." The Fellowship of Reconciliation at its Haverford Meeting also took definitive action of a similar character.

What the last twenty-five years have shown is that if there are to be new instruments of world peace they must be grounded on different ideas from those which have animated the peace machinery of the past. World organization, recognizing the primary concern of the good

of humanity as a whole and modifying the absolute character of the present nation-state, holds out hope for mankind. A world federal government, to which each state in its own self-interest delegated such portion of its national sovereignty as is required by a concern for the common good, would have behind it a new set of ideas. It is becoming increasingly clear that the years ahead must be given to effecting the change in ideas required, not only by the Christian faith, but by the change in the physical world in which we live. During the last war people began to think of a new world order in terms of a world government which would involve a definite modification of national sovereignty. Amid the tensions and fears of the Paris Peace Conference these ideals were lost sight of and the machinery which was developed left the basic ideas behind international organization unchanged. With what result we have seen. We shall need to steel ourselves against all attempts to disregard basic Christian ideas in any new world order which may develop out of the present crisis in world affairs.

Changes have taken place in the Christian world which put the Church in a better position to help in the building of a new political world order than twenty-five years ago. The move-

ment for church union has gained momentum and major denominational groups have come together. The International Missionary Council has been developed and strengthened until there are twenty-six member organizations based on groups of churches in as many countries. The World Council of Churches is being organized. Great world Christian conferences have been held. Christians from the ends of the earth coming together, often in sharp antagonism, to consider the total welfare of a common humanity have gained a new vision of a universal Christianity. These all are symptomatic of a growing realization of the profound significance of Christianity for a world full of selfish rivalries and antagonisms.

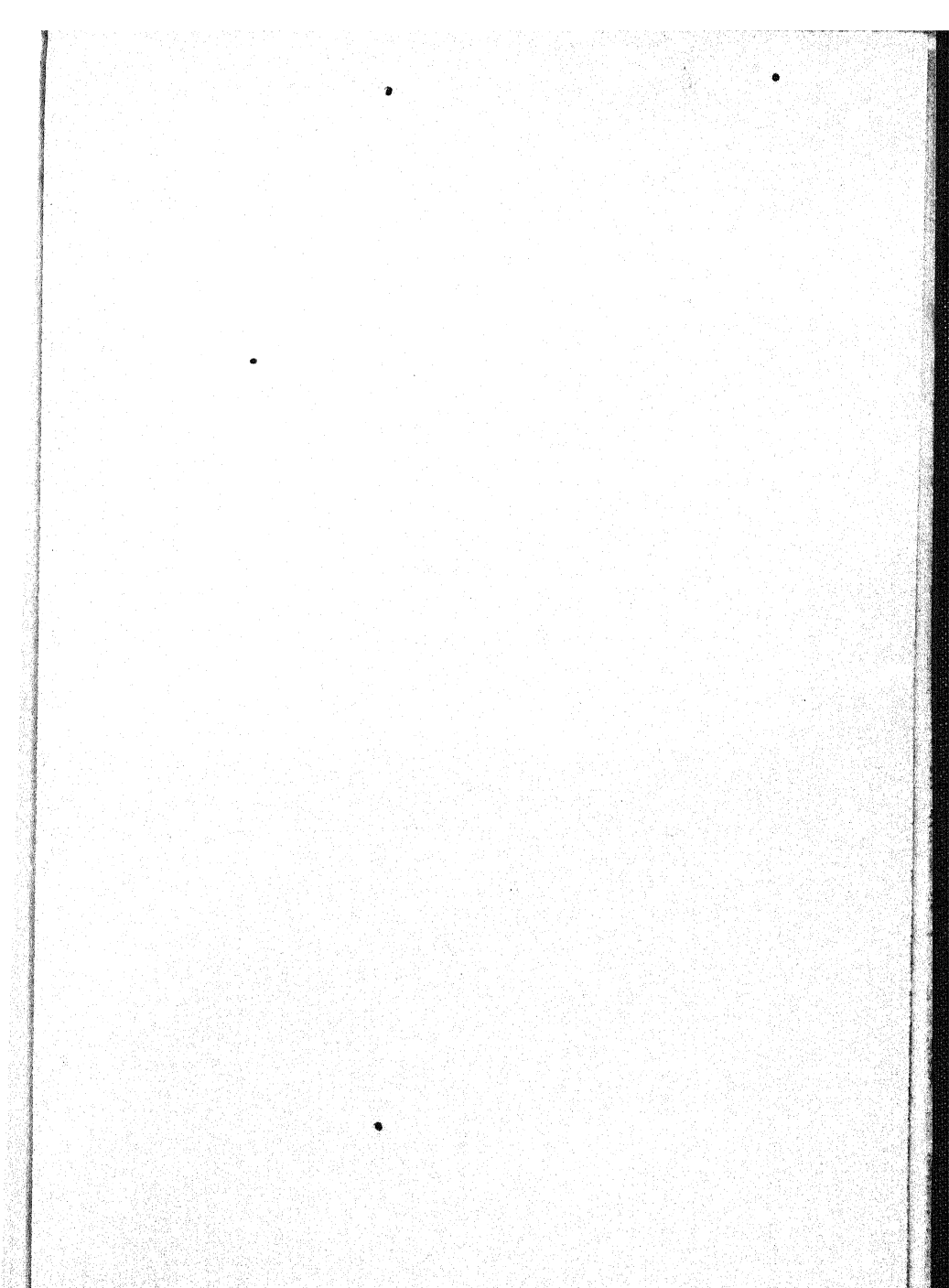
The darkest periods in history often precede great new awakenings. Forces which were not apparent were at work laying the groundwork on which the new structure could be built. Disillusionment need not result in apathy and despair when new ideas are at hand to take the place of those that have been found to have failed. May it not be that Christianity through its world fellowship offers today the foundation urgently needed for building a new structure of peace and orderly life among the nations?

The war in Europe confronts the Christian

Church today with one of the great opportunities of history. In its faith in the universal governance of God and the brotherhood of all men it possesses a motive power for world political organization which no other group in society possesses. It has developed a world-wide Christian fellowship which cuts across national lines and which has maintained and is maintaining contact in nations that are at war. The world of nation-states as it exists today is based on a world view that is in direct opposition to the Christian view of God and man. This false world view has brought about a world of nation-states that live in anarchy. Again the logical outcome of this rebellion against God has been revealed in the stark reality of another war. This cannot and must not continue. The call comes to the Church to make vital its dedication to the universal good of all men under God and to build consciously for a world political organization that will be the expression in political life of the ecumenical church. The war has again poignantly revealed the fact that international anarchy cannot continue in our closely interrelated world. Our task is to point out that it cannot and must not continue because it is not in harmony with revealed truth. It may be that when the settlement of this war

comes practical considerations will compel the setting-up of some kind of world political organization, but unless the Christian forces round the world have vitality enough to prepare the moral ground for such an organization it cannot be effective. It cannot function within the framework of the old ideas. Our sublime task is to help to create in the hearts of men the "mind of Christ" that world brotherhood may become a practical reality. It is our privilege to keep alive amongst us our faith in the universality of the Gospel, to help create and strengthen the world Christian community and help to give Christianity concrete expression in the world political community.

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